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ABSTRACT

This report was written to measure progress on the National Plan of Action for Women. It is organized in four parts. Part I contains background on how the plan came into being and makes clear why it was important to evaluate the plan. Part II reports the results of the first part of a two-stage survey conducted to gather information on how the plan was being implemented and the gains being made by women in the 10 years since the plan was written. Data gathered from a mail survey of 2,000 women's organizations are reported in terms of statewide networks. Part III reports on the second stage of the survey, which was conducted by telephone. Information is reported in 24 categories of concern to women, such as arts and humanities, battered women, child abuse, day care, media, insurance, older women, rape, and poverty. Part IV contains other information that did not fit into the sections of the plan, such as the National Organization for Changing Men, women's commissions, and women's centers. (KC)

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DECADE OF ACHIEVEMENT: 1977-1987

A REPORT ON A SURVEY BASED ON THE NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION FOR WOMEN

by Susanna Downie, Principal Author & Editor
and many other sub-authors, including
Dr. Irene Frieze, Research Consultant
for the Survey Project

A Project of
The National Women's Conference Center,
the research and education arm of
The National Women's Conference Committee
May, 1988.

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THE DECADE IN NUMBERS

and every one of them a world of stories

- In 1970, no one even knew what a "battered women's shelter" was. Now, there are at least 1200 such centers or shelters in the U.S.

- In 1969, there was one Women's Studies program, in San Diego. Today, there are at least 503 Women's Studies programs in the U.S., serving approximately 250,000 students each year. 26 of these programs offer a PhD, in this subject that didn't exist 20 years ago.

- Displaced Homemakers were first recognized in the early 70's. Now there are over 1000 Displaced Homemaker groups, programs or services in the U.S.

- Throughout the 70's and still today, media reports on the Women's Movement suggested or stated that it was/is primarily composed of "white, middle class" women. A *Newsweek* survey in 1986 found that 65% of black women (but 56% of white women) described themselves as "feminist". In 1979, a survey found 300 women of color groups nationwide. A parallel survey in 1985 found 1000 women of color groups, many of them organized around issues in the National Plan of Action for Women.

- In 1971, a few women in Boston published a booklet called *Women and Their Bodies*. The second printing, in 1972, was renamed *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, and sold 250,000 copies without any advertising or promotion by the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. As of 1987, *Our Bodies, Our Selves* has sold 2.5 million copies worldwide, and has been translated into 11 languages.

- In 1970, no one had ever heard of a "women's center". A recent compilation by the National Association of Women's Centers has discovered that there are at least 4000 Women's Centers now in the U.S.

- In 1970, similarly, the idea of a Rape Crisis Center was germinating in perhaps three minds in the United States. There are now 600 Rape Crisis Centers, nationwide.

- Because mass media, even in their local forms, were basically ignoring the growth of this positive and creative movement in their midst, we had to create our own media. The first women's newspapers sprang up in 1968-9. There are now at least 400 feminist newspapers, 110 women's presses and publishers, and 10 women's news services, in the U.S. or linking American feminists with counterparts in other parts of the world.

- Women's bookstores (not just woman-owned, but carrying primarily or exclusively books by women) now number about 150, and some of them do nearly $500,000 annual volume.

- President Reagan called Comparable Worth a "cockamammie idea". But 46 states are now doing either pay equity research or are taking remedial action. 14 of these states have already appropriated wage increases for state government workers in underpaid jobs, most of whom are women.

- The percentage of women in municipal elective office has tripled since 1975 (4% women to 14% women). Women hold the position of Mayor in 11 of America's 100 largest cities. In State Legislatures, in 1987, women held 15.6% of elected positions, up from 4% in 1969.

- Women's History Week began as a local (County) project in Sonoma Co. California in 1977. In 1986, Congress declared March to be Women's History Month. The Women's History Project, which began with a one-page flyer to a few women's groups in California, now publishes a 36-page catalogue of curriculum guides, posters, and other materials, that goes to a mailing list of 38,000 nationwide, most of them educators.

- Incarcerated women have been tragically underserved by the penal system in the U.S. In response to these conditions, women have initiated over 100 programs, nationwide, that serve women in prison, most of whom are young mothers who have committed minor economic crimes. These programs began to appear in the early 70's.

- Women have been going into business three times faster than men. There are now 3.3 million women business owners, up 33% since 1976. Estimates are that, if present rates continue,women will own half of all businesses by the year 2000.

- In 1976, Ladyslipper Catalogue was founded, in Durham NC, by an all volunteer group who wanted to promote woman-produced (not just woman- performed) music. Their first catalogue had 16 pages, and less than 200 entries. Today Ladyslipper is a wholesale supplier with six major outlets nationwide, an annual volume of 50,000 tapes or records, and their catalogue runs to 60 pages with over 1200 entries, including music by feminist men and non-sexist children's music.

INTRODUCTION

This study began as an attempt to measure progress on the National Plan of Action for Women. **PART I** contains background on "How the Plan came into Being" and will make clear why it was important, ten years after "Houston", to make such an attempt.

By 1986, when this project got underway, there was strong reason to suppose that the real work on the Plan was going on at the "grassroots" level. This report shows, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the American women's movement as a whole is 100% spontaneous, arising up out of the cities (including our nation's capital) and towns and countryside of the United States, wherever women have been and are, a spirited response organized by local leadership, defining the issues and problems as they saw them, reinforced by regional or national networking, responding collectively to the conditions of women's lives, and creating new means to solve the problems as they defined them. **The data given in "The Decade in Numbers" (pages 1 & 2) could have been brought about in no other way.** The "movement", and progress on the Plan, is therefore best measured by simply looking at what those women have been doing - particularly what organizations they have formed and what new institutions they have created, and how they have organized themselves within existing insitutions. This survey report makes a beginning on that project, which is very far from being completed.

PART II, THE TWO-STAGE SURVEY : As it was first proposed, the survey was to be more or less what is reported in Part II, which gives the results of a questionnaire, based on the Plan and mailed out to a sample of 2000 women's organizations to find out what areas of the Plan they are working on, and to get some idea of what we have accomplished so far.

The Plan is an ideal tool for doing this, for weaving the full tapestry of our achievement, because it is a very pragmatic document (it names activities that can be counted) and because it really was a national consensus document. Officially, it was just the delegates in Houston in 1977 that ratified it. But the more you know about how the Houston Conference came about and what went on there, the clearer it becomes that the Plan really does represent the women's movement of the United States, as well as or better than any other similar agenda compiled in some other way. And when you take out the language about who should do it, and focus on what is being called for, you get a very nice, coherent, detailed, somewhat messy but very lovable version of what the American women's movement is all about.

The condensed version of the Plan, which we sent out along with the questionnaire, and which appears here section by section in Part III (as "National Plan Goals"), was produced just that way, by looking at what was being called for in the full text of the Plan, and ignoring as much as possible who was being called upon to do it (e.g. "The President", or "Congress"). The fact is, without much help from the Federal Government, esp. since 1981, and only with hard-won help from State Governments, all the progress chronicled herein has been made by women themselves. And even where governments have helped, you can bet there were women, and maybe even a few feminist men, on the inside, in a wide range of government agencies and offices, helping to make it happen. Documentation of the participation of women in governmental agencies and offices remains to be done and is not really addressed by this survey report. But in every sphere of life, hundreds of thousands of women (and increasing numbers of men) have begun to build a new society, and this report gives you a few clues as to what that new society has already begun to look like.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE SURVEY (PART III): As the survey returns began to come in, and as I reflected on what I knew of the women's movement from working in feminist media in the Pittsburgh PA branch of it since about 1972, I knew how much information there was to be had that we would not get from the survey proper, yet which belonged in any adequate account of the past decade in relation to the Plan, and which would follow up on the beginnings suggested by the *1986 Update* (see end of Part I). **So this booklet contains the results of *two* methods of survey, both based on the Plan.** And the mailed questionnaire survey confirms, in a somewhat abstract way, the results of the other survey, which was conducted mostly by phone, over a period of a few months (Sept. 87 - Feb. 88) using leads from the survey forms and other sources, tapping many Old Girl Networks, and involving many other coauthors. It was this second, more informal, survey which produced the information reported, section-by-section, in Part III. I wrote a little over half of these sections myself (where no author is named), the others were principally written by the person named at the end of the section. In all cases, I asked authors to include, and as author I myself included, names or acknowledgements of sources of information, persons consulted, or persons who helped in any way.

PART IV contains other information that came up in various ways and did not fit neatly into the sections of the Plan but which I felt reflected something important about what has happened in the last two decades in relation to Plan issues.

This study is not restricted to the period 1977-87. That decade has been an important one, and a great deal of the growth in the numbers of "The Decade in

Numbers" has taken place in the last ten years. But I wanted to capture the beginnings of this "Second Wave" of the women's movement, the First Wave of which started more than a century ago. And to do that it was necessary to go back to the late sixties, and sometimes further, to find the zero point, the point in time before which there was no women's center, or NOW chapter, or whatever. It will be clear from this study that the years 1964-77 were a time of great feminist ferment, great creativity - a nationwide simultaneous invention of new social and cultural forms, as well as some skillful use of tried and true forms, all of which is still going on, and which has been greatly consolidated , expanded, and refined in the 1977-87 decade.

All of the specific projects and organizations described herein are included because they illustrate the same reality that the numbers capture in a much more abstract way. In order to understand what "1000 Displaced Homemaker Programs" means, you have to know what a Displaced Homemaker Program is. To know what "503 Women's Studies Programs" means, you have have some idea what a Women's Studies Program is. I have tried to include at least one good example in every section, but the reader should understand that **each example could be multiplied many times, and each one of the 1000 or the 600 or the 503 or whatever would have a different story to tell.** There was no possibility, within the scope of this project, of being truly comprehensive. I also exerted some care to assure that examples of activity in the Mid-west and Plains states were included, since media in general, and even feminist media reportage of the women's movement tends to be dominated by the news from the East and West coasts. And those who have expertise in a particular area may not find much of interest in that area of this report. But information that "everyone knows" is not at all well-known among young people, for instance, or among many whose expertise lies elsewhere. So in describing organizations or developments that may be familiar to many feminists, I had in mind the young women who weren't old enough in 1977 to have noticed "Houston", and the others who weren't reached by the information.

No attempt has been made in this book to include explicit recommendations for future action, nor to update the recommendations of the Plan itself. The work of formulating such recommendations belongs to a truly representative consensus body . An attempt at such recommendations was made at the 10th anniversary celebration of "Houston" which was sponsored by NWCC in Washington DC in November of 1987. Over 600 women attended, dozens of national women's organizations were involved in the planning and production of the celebration, workshops were held on each area of the Plan, and the recommendations that came out of the workshops have been gathered together in a booklet to be published by NWCC in early 1988.

After some little attempts to deal with the area of Women and Religion, we decided we couldn't do anything adequate in this publication. Religion, and all the issues that involves for women, was left out of the Plan altogether because of the principle of "separation of church and state". The Houston conference *was* a matter of state, mandated by the UN and funded by the federal government, therefore the U.S. Constitution had to be respected. But no account of the women's movement of the last twenty years will be complete until a chapter is included touching on all the wonderful things that churchwomen are doing both inside and outside the established churches, and the new forms of women's spirituality blossoming within women's culture.

It is clear, after all this work, and with all the information that is packed into this booklet, that in some important way, we have just scratched the surface. I am certainly aware of how much has been left out, of all the good information that there was no room for. Far from being "over" or "dead", the women's movement is not only here to stay and bigger than ever, but much richer and more complex than anyone has yet documented. And far from being comprehensive or "definitive", this report just makes a beginning at that documentation. I hope some day a more adequate collection of all the information and all the stories will be brought together. A compilation built around the whole Plan, one which would include what Kathy Bonk once called "the passion and the fun", would be an achievement, and a gift we all deserve. We not only deserve it, we *need* it, so that we can fully perceive the true scope and depth of our accomplishment, so we can see how many of "us" there are, and how beautiful and necessary we are.

For purposes of this project, however, what was necessary was to limit the space devoted to each section of the Plan, in order to keep the total number of pages manageable, in order to produce something definite within the current constraints on our resources. But we welcome your suggestions about other stories, projects, or data that should be included, in future works of this kind, that would help us all to see the beauty of the Plan in the great work of the American women's movement, still just a young adult, in the richness of her living story. NWCC would also like to begin to keep track of any constituency there might be "out there" (this means you, dear reader) for a large and truly representative Second National Women's Conference, modelled on the IWY/Houston happening.

Send feedback, suggestions (and documentation) to NWCC, P.O. Box 65605, Washington D.C. 20035-5605.

-- Susanna Downie, on behalf of NWCC
and everyone who helped with this project -
April, 1988.

PART I :
HOW THE NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION FOR WOMEN CAME INTO BEING

BACKGROUND

The events of a decade arise from the myriad streams of the preceding decade. In 1977, when the National Plan of Action was drafted and voted on, section by section, at the First National Women's Conference, the women's movement had been capturing headlines here and there for some years. Historians can be expected to differ about exactly when the current wave of the women's movement started, partly because historians like to pin things down to years, or decades, or "periods". But a phenomenon as vast and deep as the women's movement will continue to defy that impulse. Nevertheless, I think it is reasonable to suggest that it was in the decade of the 60's that the current wave, which has not yet crested, took its rise.

In 1961, Esther Peterson, who was then Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, approached the newly elected President, John F. Kennedy, and suggested that he set up a Commission on the Status of Women. This he did, and appointed Eleanor Roosevelt as its first Chair. The work of the Commission, while it might be considered "tame" by current feminist standards, nevertheless raised some important issues, particularly with respect to inequities in public institutions, and the vulnerable situation of homemakers. It also served as a model for and stimulated the formation of Commissions on the Status of Women in the states. By the end of 1963, when the federal Commission published its report, *American Women* , 14 states had established commissions, and the following year, 19 more states followed suit. Meanwhile, Betty Friedan's bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) had penetrated the minds of its readers far more substantially than most bestsellers do. Women everywhere began thinking in a changed way. 1963 also saw Congress enact a landmark piece of legislation, the Equal Pay Act,

And so it came to pass in 1966, at a national conference of state commissioners for women, that Betty Friedan called a meeting in her hotel room to discuss the formation of a grassroots activist organization of women, who could lobby and take initiatives that state commissioners were constrained from taking. Thus the first national conference of the National Organization for Women was planned, and in 1967, NOW was born.

NOW came into a world in which there were no women's centers, no rape crisis centers, no women's studies programs, in which few had ever heard of a "displaced homemaker" or a "re-entry woman", or a "non-traditional" job or "comparable worth". Ten years later, all of these things and more had been created or identified, and we were beginning to realize that we really could change the world to make it a better place for women and children (and men too!). Between 1965 and 1975, when the UN Decade for Women began, and the first of three World Conferences of Women was held in Mexico City, 14 states passed state ERAs and the federal ERA had been passed by Congress (1972) and ratified by 30 state legislatures. Hundreds of new women's organizations and institutions had sprung into being, and organizations which had existed prior to 1960, many of which had begun out of the first wave of feminism (1848-1919) such as YWCA, AAUW, BPW, NCJW, NCNW, had begun to recover or renew their original commitment to feminism.

THE STATEWIDE CONFERENCES and HOUSTON

The UN designated 1975 as International Women's Year, and the decade 1975-85, as The International Decade for Women. Following the UN mandate, President Ford signed Public Law 94-167, calling for a National Conference of Women, with conferences in every state to be open to the public and to elect delegates and send recommendations to the national conference. Congress (at the beginning of the Carter administration) appropriated $5 million to carry out this mandate, and a National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year was set up.

But the women at the grassroots level had not been sitting idly by waiting for the Federal Government. There was a broad-based and many-faceted "movement" ready and willing to make "Houston" happen. Co-ordinated by the IWY Commission, statewide conferences of women were duly held in each state and trust- territory of the U.S.; each of these conferences was open to the public, each elected a number of delegates proportional to the population, and each proposed a list of issues and areas of concern to be considered by the National Conference. A total of 150,000 women and men participated in 56 state and territorial conferences, electing over 2000 delegates to carry their lists of issues to Houston.

Over 4000 resolutions were forwarded to the Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, directed by Dr. Kathryn Clarenbach, and chaired by then Congresswoman Bella Abzug.

The Commission sifted and sorted these resolutions, joined the many overlapping and similar ones, and organized them into a 26-point draft National Plan of Action, which was presented to the delegates at Houston, debated and amended by them, and finally ratified. The 26th point in the draft Plan called for the creation of a Women's Department in the Federal Government, but this proposal was voted down by the conference, and another proposal was substituted for it, which called for a Continuing Committee (CC), to oversee implementation of the Plan.

The National Plan of Action is the closest thing we have to a consensus document for the American Women's Movement.

"Houston" has become the shorthand way of referring to a happening that took place over four days, involving over 20,000 women and the entire city of Houston, Texas; every library and school had an exhibit on women, and there were lectures and programs and films and concerts and receptions all over the city. While the 2000 delegates in the Sam Houston Coliseum labored over the National Plan, and the 1500 media people stood in line for floor passes, or roamed the area looking for a story, and thousands of women who had come just to be there filled the galleries, other thousands attended workshops and film and video showings that went on every day concurrently with the conference, or browsed in the exhibit area, where hundreds of feminist organizations, publishers, and T-shirt and button sellers were discovering just how large the market was for their offerings.

Criticism was Unfair.

Criticism of the conference, both during and after, tried to give the impression that the conference was not representative of American women. But a dispassionate look at the facts suggests that this was the most representative gathering of women that had ever occurred in this country. Women from all parts of the country, including the trusts and territories, women from all sectors of the women's movement, women of all ages, women from all parts of the political spectrum, and women of all racial and major ethnic groups - all were represented.

The youngest delegate was 16, the oldest was 80.

30% of the delegates were Black, Hispanic, Native American , or Asian-American. 23% of the delegates had incomes that placed them below the poverty level. They were able to attend because PL 94-167 provided travel money and expenses for the delegates. There were farm women and disabled women, urban, suburban and rural women, and women from the islands.

No official assessment was made of political affiliation, but most of the sections of the Plan passed the delegate assembly by at least 80% of the vote, though some of the more controversial sections, such as Reproductive Freedom, passed by only about 60 or 70%. So a reasonable estimate of the presence of women from the conservative end of the spectrum would be about 20 or 25%. Though the states were mandated to send racially representative delegations, and the presumption in most states was that since this was a women's event, the delegates should be women, the state of Mississippi sent a delegation made up of five white men and fourteen white women. But most delegations were racially balanced, and some states sent delegations that had a higher percentage of minority representatives than the racial percentage for their states. For example, Pennsylvania was 10% black in 1977, but sent a delegation that was 30% black.

And even many of the delegates who clearly came to vote against everything in sight found themselves voting with the majority on issues such as child abuse, battered women, health and education. Several delegations staged an anti-abortion demonstration when the Reproductive Freedom section came up, and they stuck together on the vote, but they broke ranks on many other issues. Many women discovered areas of consensus that they hadn't anticipated. Two very proper aristocratic ladies from Alabama discovered that the engaging young women next to them were lesbians, and found themselves voting "yes!" on the Sexual Preference plank. But a "Minority Report" was submitted to the Commission, and is included in the official report of the Conference, *The Spirit of Houston* (1978).

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It was hard for anyone not to get caught up in the spirit of that event and when we speak of the "Spirit of Houston", we mean that surprising, moving, irresistable recognition of being part of something much larger than ourselves, something that contained all of us with all our differences, and all our ideals, something that would change the world and make us new at the same time.

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

After the 20,000 women returned home whence they had come, the National Plan and a report on the Houston Conference were presented to President Carter by the IWY Commission in March, 1978. The Commission then ended (by law). Before disbanding, the Commission appointed the Continuing Committee, which had over 400 members, including the presidents or representatives of the large national women's organizations. President Carter then established the National Advisory Committee For Women, with Bella Abzug and Carmen Votaw as cochairs.

But when the Committee met with Mr. Carter late in 1978, to plead the cause of women and to reinforce in his mind the importance of the issues embodied in the Plan, he rather shabbily fired Ms. Abzug, in what Gloria Steinem dubbed "the Friday Night Massacre". Most of the Committee resigned in solidarity with her, and a public opinion poll shortly afterward gave Carter a 52% to 29% negative rating on the dismissal. (The very instructive story is told in *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women*, Houghton Mifflin, 1984)

The "Friday Night Massacre" ended any illusions that The National Plan of Action was being taken seriously by the Carter Administration.

Though Carter attempted to save appearances by creating a new but muzzled and handcuffed "Advisory Committee", advocacy for the Plan was effectively dead at the official national level.

But the Continuing Committee was still alive and well. Under the leadership of Co-chairs Sarah Harder, Anne Turpeau, and Carmen Delgado Votaw (1979-85) the CC became the catalyst for creation of many statewide networks of organizations that were already working on Plan issues and needed to coordinate activity at the state level to influence policy in the state legislatures (see Part II, report on survey of *Statewide Networks*). This has been especially important given the eight years of little progress at the federal level during the Reagan administration.

THE UN DECADE:

In 1980, CC members traveled to Copenhagen for the Mid-Decade Conference, where all of them participated in the NGO Forum, where one of them (Anne Turpeau) was a delegate at the UN Conference, and where Ms. Harder gave multiple workshops in which she introduced the U.S. model for advocacy networks to women from other countries. At Copenhagen, The United States became a signatory to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, or sometimes just "The Convention"). The National Plans for Women of all member nations of the UN were considered in the drafting and final formulation of CEDAW and the Forward Looking Strategies (see Part III, *International Affairs*).

In 1985, at the NGO Forum of the End of Decade UN Conference, in Nairobi, Kenya, Co-Chairs Votaw and Harder distributed U.S. Plan Status Updates and held workshops on action and advocacy networks to promote World Plan issues. Many NWCC members participated in or organized other workshops and were active for months afterward reporting on "Nairobi" and promoting CEDAW.

NAME CHANGE: CC BECOMES NWCC

In 1981, the Continuing Committee changed its name to "The National Women's Conference Committee", with The National Women's Conference Center as its non-profit, educational/research arm. With a small membership and no major funding, NWCC has worked to monitor implementation of the National Plan, and to promote statewide and regional networks based upon the Plan. This work included organizing and fundraising for the ERA, and sponsorship and coordination of the NEW DAY - BEYOND ERA rallies, over 200 of which were held around the country on June 30, 1982, the day the extension for the ERA expired. The NEW DAY - BEYOND ERA Rallies were the brainchild of National Women's Conference Center President Gene Boyer, to whom it is impossible to give proper credit here. Suffice it to say, she is a foremother who isn't dead yet. NWCC has also worked for the re-introduction of the ERA, and in 1986 published the *ERA Facts and Action Guide*, by Allie Hixson and Riane Eisler (see also Part III, *ERA*).

NWCC is an all-volunteer organization, without paid staff, and is governed by a Board which is made up of the officers, at-large members, representatives of recognized Statewide Networks, and the Chairs of the issue Caucuses (approximately one for each issue area of the Plan). As of November, 1987, 12 Statewide Networks have been recognized. Bylaws allow only one network per state to be recognized. Criteria and procedures for official recognition for statewide networks are available from the officers (see also Part II, report on survey of Statewide Networks).

In 1986, NWCC released *The National Plan Update: 1977 Goals, 1986 Status*, which marked another stage in the process of assessing how far we have come since 1977, and what has happened to the long list of ideals that are embodied in the National Plan. This survey report continues that process and incorporates much of the information that is contained in the *1986 Update* .

-- by Susanna Downie,*with substantial help from* Sarah Harder, Catherine East,
Kay Clarenbach, and Mim Kelber.

RESOURCES:

"...To Form a More Perfect Union...", National IWY Commission, Washington DC, 1976.

The Spirit of Houston, National IWY Commission, Washington DC 1979.

American Women: 1963 /1983 / 2003, by Catherine East, The National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs, 1983.

The National Plan Update: 1977 Goals, 1986 Status, ed. Mary Albert O'Neill, The National Women's Conference Committee, 1986.

Current Co-chairs of NWCCommittee are:

Dr. Allie Hixson, Route 5, Box 502, Greensburg KY 42743. (502) 932-7216.

De Burton, 4501 Arlington Blvd. #728, Arlington VA 22203. (703) 522-3636.

Current President of NWCCenter :

Gene Boyer, P.O. Box 455, Beaver Dam WI 53916. (414) 887-1078.

Copies of*The National Plan Update* , the full text of the National Plan (on a poster), and the *ERA Facts and Action Guide* are available from Ms. Hixson .

PART II : REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF WOMEN'S GROUPS NATIONWIDE AND WOMEN'S STATEWIDE NETWORKS

[**NOTE:** Instrument design and data analysis, including construction of Tables 1 - 4, was done by Dr. Irene Frieze, who also served as Research Consultant for the Survey Project. Dr. Frieze is Associate Professor of Psychology and Executive Director of the Women's Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh. Data processing was done using the SPSS Statistical Processing program for the Social Sciences on a DEC 10 system at the University of Pittsburgh. A more technical and extensive analysis and discussion of the survey data will be published by Dr. Frieze in the sociological journals.]

WHO GOT THE SURVEY:

A survey questionnaire was distributed by mail to nearly 2000 women's groups in the United States between June 1 and Sept 30, 1987. Three-fourths of the labels (1500) came from the National Women's Mailing List (see box below), from whose groups list we took a random sample (every fifth label, in zip code order). The rest of the labels (about 400) came from a list of women's NGO's obtained from the UN NGO Liason Information Service, and a small list (about 60 labels) of national women's groups .

WHAT THE SURVEY MEASURED:

The question around which the whole project grew was: What are women's groups "out there" (i.e. all over the United States) working on, and how many of them are working on which National Plan issues? Naturally, once we started designing a questionnaire, other questions became interesting. Questions pertaining to the characteristics of the groups are summarized in Table 1. Table 2 gives two sets of figures: the percentage of groups working on each issue area of the Plan, and the percentage giving each area of the Plan a positive importance rating for the future. Tables 3 and 4 show average ratings of the four overall categories of groups (local, state or regional, national, and international), comparing what areas of the Plan the groups in each category ranked highest as to Past Work (Table 3) and Future Importance (Table 4).

All rating scales were 0 to 3, with 0 indicating no importance or no work, and 3 indicating highest importance or most work. We did not try to solicit detailed information about what each group was doing. We wanted to find out which area of the Plan each was working in, and how each respondent felt about other areas of the Plan (the "future importance" rating).

The total response rate was 38%, out of 1782 good addresses.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENT GROUPS

Table 1 summarizes the answers to the first set of questions, which attempted to get a profile of each organization. More than half of our respondents are local in scope. The rest function at the state, regional or national level. Only 7%identified themselves as international in scope. Although comparing international and national with state and local groups is an "apples

NATIONAL WOMEN'S MAILING LIST

The National Women's Mailing List is another success story of the decade. It was founded in 1980 by Deborah Brecher and Jill Lippett, with the idea of making computer technology work for feminists the way it was clearly working for the Far Right. NWML enables feminist groups to do nationwide or targeted direct mail marketing of their ideas and services. Individuals register what kind of issues they are interested in and who they want to recieve mail from, and organizations register what kind of services, information or issues they are concerned with. The list now has about 60,000 individuals and 11,000 groups, available on stick-and-peel labels in almost any configuration of issue(s) and zip code(s), more or less at cost. The groups list contains at least: 728 women's centers, 150 women's bookstores, 530 Health organizations, 500 anti-violence services or organizations, 1000 women's newspapers and newsletters, 200 women's presses and publishers, 600 art or media production groups, 700 student groups, 105 older women's services, 440 women of color groups, 375 lesbian & gay organizations, 210 sports groups, and many other categories. **You can buy sets of labels or you can earn them by distributing the registration form.** For instance, for this survey project, we agreed to distribute the registration form with the survey report, in exchange for 1500 labels in zipcode order. **Thus, you will find a registration form as the last page of this booklet.** The Mailing List is operated by the Women's Information Exchange. Deborah Brecher is the author of the *Women's Computer Literacy Handbook.*

and oranges" type of problem, our primary purpose was simply to ask any group, working at whatever level, to look at themselves in relation to the Plan, to see whether or where they fit into that agenda. Broad differences between local and national (or larger) groups, as to the type of issue they are concerned with, emerge in Tables 3 and 4 (discussed below).

SERVICE, EDUCATION, POLICY (THAT'S WHAT WE'RE ALL ABOUT):

We coded the group's statement of purpose as to whether it primarily involved provision of services, education and information, or working to affect policy (public or institutional). Service providers are primarily battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, health care, job counselling, or resource and referral centers. Educational work includes Women's Studies programs, media production, or public education programs. Policy work attempts to influence governments or other institutions. About a third of our respondents fell primarily into one of these three categories, but many more combine service with education or policy work, and many whose primary purpose seemed to be educational also were engaged in policy work.

The question about size (number of members) was probably the least useful question, since we did not refine it enough to discriminate between groups that have dues-paying memberships, unpaid board, paid and/or unpaid staff and volunteers, paid staff and clients, or just a mailing list. About 25% of our sample did not answer this question, and many respondents commented on its ambiguity. Other demographic data is given in Table 1.

HOW THEY RANKED THE PLAN (Table Two)

We assumed that most of the groups receiving the survey would not be familiar with the Plan, so we included a condensed version of the Plan along with the questionnaire. This version of the Plan, issue by issue, is what appears in Part III of this booklet. Since the Plan section called "International Affairs" contains at least six very different issue and activity areas, we expanded that area into six separate questions for the purposes of the questionnaire. Thus the total number of Plan areas ranked as to "past work", and "future importance", was 30.

Table Two lists the Plan areas and gives the percentage of respondents indicating that they do some work in that area, and the percentage who ranked that area as having some degree of importance for the future, for all women.

The areas of the Plan vary widely as to what percentage of our respondants are working on each, with Insurance Discrimination, Female Offenders, and three areas under International Issues all at the low end (less than 30%), and Education, Employment, Minority women, and the "violence issues" (rape, spouse abuse, child abuse) all at the high end (more than 60%). Child Care, Health, Homemakers, Older Women, Reproductive Freedom, Sexual Preference, and Women, Welfare & Poverty all show 50% or more. It is clear that most of the work of the women's movement gets done by fairly precisely focusing on one or a few related problem areas. But groups were not limited as to how many issues they could select, and many groups are broadly multi-issue.

There was wide consensus that the areas identified in the Plan will continue to be important for women. Each area of the Plan was deemed of future importance by at least 80% of the respondents. Moreover, when asked to identify problem areas that are not in the Plan (Question 11), most respondents gave answers that are already included in the Plan or fit logically into the Plan. (See below for a full report on Question 11.)

In general, there was a pattern of respondents taking a broad perspective beyond the concerns reflected in their statement of purpose or rating of their own past work. About a third of the respondants gave 20 or more of the Plan areas a 2 or 3 on the "future importance" rating. **In summary, we found the validity of the 1977 Plan well confirmed for a broad cross-section of women's groups in 1987.**

RANK ORDERINGS OF ISSUE AREAS, FOR GROUPS VARYING IN SCOPE

Tables Three and Four condense a great deal of information, enabling us to answer the question: Are there any observable differences, as you go up the scale from local to international work, in what issue areas people see as important, or that they have worked on? As might be predicted, we observed that issues which primarily involve service provision, such as Battered Women, are more important at the local level. Issues which are more abstract, or involve working to change governmental policy, such as E.R.A., show up more strongly at the national level. **Child Care is clearly an emerging issue, for everyone.** Only state or regional groups listed it high in their past work, but groups at all levels listed it high for future importance. **And for all groups, both for past work and future importance, Education remains steadily important.** Since every issue area involves first, self-education, then public education, this is not too surprising a finding. But the survey confirms what our intuitions might have told us, and Tables Three and Four show how cohesive the women's movement is. There will be no radical shifts. We will keep doing what we have been doing, only we'll do more of it. The consistent pattern of higher rankings for future importance (for every issue) show that most of us feel there is a lot more to be done, in every area of the Plan. The reader is invited to study Tables 3 and 4 for further insights, and to observe how the various issues of the Plan work together in the whole spectrum of groups from the local, in every area of the country, to the national and international.

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 11: WHAT ISSUES *NOT* IN THE PLAN ARE YOU WORKING ON OR CONCERNED ABOUT ?

Question 11 was open- ended and asked the respondent to list issue areas that were NOT in The Plan. A lot (at least two thirds) of the respondents left this one blank, or said something like "The Plan seems very comprehensive", or, "The Plan has too much in it already!" (this woman seemed to feel we were suggesting that she should take on the whole thing, all by herself). And of those that did list something specific, most mentioned something that is actually already in The Plan. We took this to mean that they were not very familiar with the Plan, and were listing issues areas or problems that were of salient concern to them. We did not try to code these responses, we simply made a tally of how many fit in this or that area of The Plan, and what other, non-Plan, issues were mentioned.

The Plan areas that got the most reinforcement here (at least 15 mentions) were Child Care, Education, Employment, Women Welfare & Poverty, and International Affairs (Peace). Every area of the Plan except Credit and Insurance got at least one mention, and most got four or five.

Specific mention by at least ten respondants was made of: Child support, Parental leave, Reproductive technology, Low cost housing, special problems (mostly economic) of single parents, and Educating the public about women's issues.

About a third of those who responded specifically to this question mentioned (one way or another) that the most important thing was to get more women into positions of power and leadership. But these responses were evenly distributed over all types of hierarchies: business, government, education, science, religion, medicine, research. Clearly, there is broad consensus about the continuing need to break through "glass ceilings" everywhere.

Issues that came up that are not in the Plan are: surrogate mothers (need to resolve ethical issues), date rape, affordable housing (esp. for single parents), homeless women, immigrant women (esp. as indigent), teaching women to value themselves, legal status for non-traditional family units, pornography (as a general problem, not just in relation to children - pornography is mentioned in the Plan, but under Child Abuse, and only in relation to use of children to make pornography), AIDS, adult survivors of incest (need for services for), battered lesbians, prostitution, women and sports (concern with funding in schools), women in the church and the liturgies, problems of the "sandwich generation" (women who are caring for dependent children and dependent parents at the same time), conflict-resolution, and eco-feminism (concern for the environment, esp. as a feminist issue). All of these were mentioned several times, not always in the same words, but with equivalent intent.

Some respondents put general admonitions or worries for Q. 11. These included: •• expressions of concern to prevent backsliding and loss of ground for feminism, ` •• the need to avoid complacency, •• the mistake of assuming that because women are nearly 50% of the workforce and have made so many inroads into "nontraditional" areas that we are now equal, ••concern about ignorance and apathy in the young, `••the ever-present threat of the Far Right and Right-to-Lifers, ` •• the need for more coalition building and networking (at least ten people mentioned this).

These are all concerns that we all share, and the frequency with which they came up in one form or another shows how cohesive the women's movement is among those who are the movers of it. We are never all in one place at one time physically, and there is no organization to which we all belong, but we share a common worldview, and common concerns, over the decades, and in spite of all our differences.

TABLE ONE: CHARACTERISTICS OF RESONDENT GROUPS

Sampling Strategy:

	Sent	Returned	Response Rate
National Women's Mailing List	1362	512	38%
Non-Governmental Orgs. (U.N.)	347	113	33%
Other	73	51	70%
TOTAL	1782	676	38%

Overall Sample Characteristics: Sample of 676 Groups

Scope of Group

Local	358	53%
State or Region	99	15%
National	118	18%
International	49	7%
Other/Unknown	48	8%

Purpose of Group

Service	36%
Education	24%
Policy	29%
Other/Unknown	11%

Members Under 25
(444 Groups)

10% or less	= 64%
Average percent	= 16%
More than 50%	= 8%

Size of Group

10 or less	14%
100 or less	34%
1000 or less	16%
50,000 or less	10%
Over 50,000	2%
Other/Unknown	25%

Sources of Funding
(601 Groups)

Donations	18%
Public Funds	33%
Dues	14%
Fees & Sales	14%
Other	20%

Minority Members
(457 Groups)

10% or less	52%
11 - 20%	15%
21 - 40%	18%
41 - 60%	9%
61 - 99%	6%
Average Percent	= 20%

Men Who Are Members
(479 Groups)

10% or less	= 78%
Average percent	= 9%
More than 50%	= 3%

TABLE TWO: PERCENTAGES OF GROUPS A) WORKING ON EACH AREA OF THE PLAN AND B) SEEING THAT AREA AS IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE

Area from the 1977 Plan	% Working on Issue	% Giving Priority for Future
Arts and Humanities	44	88
Battered Women	76	96
Women-run Business	46	86
Child Abuse services and education	64	93
Child Care	56	92
Credit for Women	41	86
Disabled Women services & education	46	89
Education about Sexism	75	95
Elective and Appointive Office	48	89
Employment issues: Equal pay, nontrad. jobs	66	94
Equal Rights Amendment	50	88
Health Services, midwives, nursing homes	52	90
Homemakers rights; Displaced homemakers	49	89
Insurance discrimination	24	82
Role of women in the Media	48	91
Minority Women's special problems	69	95
Female Offenders services	28	82
Older Women's services and conditions	58	93
Rape laws. Rape victim services. Education	67	94
Reproductive Freedom. Abortion. Sex Educ.	54	91
Rural Womens' rights. Migrant workers.	26	83
Sexual Preference. End discrimination	53	85
Include sex & race in national stats	33	84
Women, Welfare & Poverty. Unemployment	52	92
International Issues:		
Participation of women in foreign policy	23	82
Include women in national development plans	19	79
Compliance with human rights treaties	18	80
Disarmament, peace education	31	84
Education about women in other countries	36	85
Particpation of women in internat. events	34	85

Groups rating 1, 2, or 3 on Past Work; Rating 1, 2, or 3 for Future.

TABLE THREE: RANK ORDERING OF ISSUE AREAS, AS TO FUTURE IMPORTANCE FOR GROUPS ARRANGED BY GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE

Ratg	Local	State/Regional	National	International
2.8			Employment	
2.7	Battered women	Child Care Employment		Employment
2.6		Education Battered women Poverty	Education Minority women Reprod. Freedom	Education
2.5	Child Abuse Child Care Employment Rape	Child Abuse Health Reprod. Freedom Minority women Older women	Child Care	Child Care Health Disarmamant Reprod. Freedom Intern. Development Intern. Education Intern. Activities
2.4	Education Minority women Reprod. Freedom	Elective office Rape Homemakers	Health Battered women Older women	Foreign Policy Human Rights Battered women Media Minority women
2.3	Poverty	Business	Child Abuse Elective Office Media E.R.A. Poverty Rape	Arts Elective Office Rape E.R.A. Child Abuse Older women

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Ratg=Average rating of importance for women in the future from 0=Not at all to 3=Highest.

TABLE FOUR: RANK ORDERING OF ISSUE AREAS, AS TO AMOUNT OF PAST WORK, FOR GROUPS ARRANGED BY GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE.

Ratg	Local	State/Regional	National	International
1.9	Battered women			
1.8			Education	Education
1.7				Intern. Educ.
1.6		Battered women Education Employment	Minority women Employment	Media
1.5	Rape			Employment Intern. Development Intern. Activ.
1.4	Education			Health Minority women
1.3	Child Abuse	Rape	E.R.A.	Disarmament
1.2	Employment Minority women	Child Abuse Child Care Homemakers Minority women Poverty	Health	Arts Intern. Particip.
1.1		Health	Media Older Women Reprod. Freedom Intern. Activ.	Rape Reprod. Freedom
1.0	Reprod. Freedom	Business Elective Office E.R.A. Older women Reprod. Freedom Sexual Preference	Arts Elective Office Statistics Poverty	Battered women Business Older women Sexual Preference Human Rights

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Ratg=Average numerical rating for amount of past work. 0=None to 3=Most.

STATEWIDE NETWORKS

No account of the past decade of the women's movement would be complete without some notice of the formation of networks and coalitions that bring together women from a wide variety of organizations, representing an equal variety of issue areas, to provide mutual support and concerted action in a specific area of the country. We make a beginning here, reporting on a survey of statewide networks, but there are many other configurations: municipal, county, multi-county, regional, and national. This report is based on the work of Ms. Betty Cook Rottman.

We conducted a survey of statewide networks simultaneously with the national survey reported in the first section of Part II, but we modified the questionnaire to make it more appropriate for statewide networks, as such. Ms. Rottman, working out of her office at the University of Missouri at Columbia, did the main work of carrying out the survey, using a list compiled by the National Women's Conference Committee, which contained a few municipal, county, and regional networks, a few commissions for women, and four national organizations, as well as all known statewide networks. 22 statewide networks responded, out of a probable 25 or 30 such networks on the list. **Only statewide networks are reported on here, because it was the only category of networks for which we had an adequate sample.**

WHEN THEY BEGAN:

Some of the statewide networks (SNs) in our sample began before the National Plan was drafted in 1977, most began since, and some began with the Plan in hand. But, as we found with women's groups generally, all over the country, the Plan issues have wide relevance, whether or not the women involved know about the Plan or start with the Plan in mind. Some of the more recent organizations started with a focus on The Forward Looking Strategies (FLS), the official document of the End of Decade World Conference of Women held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985.

The oldest SN is the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus which was founded in 1971 and merged with the Equal Rights Alliance in 1983. In 1972, the Virginia ERA Ratification Council brought together a statewide network. Then followed: in 1973 - the Women's Rights Coalition of Oregon, in1975 - Illinois Women's Agenda, 1976 - Michigan ERA America, 1977 - Colorado Women's Coalition and Louisiana Women's Lobby, and in 1979 - Wisconsin Women's Network, and Washington Women United. The real growth period for statewide networks was the 1975-85 decade, though new ones are still forming. The accompanying map shows SNs responding to the survey (shaded), and states with other addressees (for some of these, we could not tell from the address whether they were a statewide network or not) on the NWCC list but not responding to the survey (empty circles).

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY:

We asked how many organizations belonged to each network. The range was from 2 to 135, but half of our sample (11) have between 30 and 65 organizational members. Since the work of implementing the Plan is carried out largely by single-issue groups (e.g. women's shelters, health clinics, employment-related groups, etc.) it is important that multi-issue statewide networks have representation from as many areas of Plan work as possible, and therfore as many groups as possible. Recently formulated requirements for NWCC Board membership (for the newly created statewide network representatives) stipulate that networks must be working on at least five areas. Of the ten SNs recognized by NWCC as of September '87, eight responded to our survey.

We also asked for an estimate of percentages of individual members who are under age 25, men, or racial minorities. Most respondants did not provide answers here. We take this to mean that the question had not been asked before or that they did not know and were not willing to guess. For the few who did answer these questions: three had as many as 10% of members under 25 years of age. One had 10% men. Two had more than 30% minorities. Two reported a number of organizations of Blacks or Hispanics as organizational members. It is clear that the work of the Plan cannot ultimately be accomplished without men, young people and racial minorities being involved, sooner rather than later. It would be A Good Thing if all organizations working on Plan issues began to take stock of their demographics, and where it is appropriate and feasible, take action to attract young, or male, or non-white members.

The question about sources of funding was designed to find out how groups sustain themselves and whether there are some issues that are getting more support than others. For SNs, dues are the sole source of funds for a third of our sample. Six are supported 50% to 100% by donations. Only 3 (out of 22) primarily depend on grants or foundation funds.

A related question elicited information about number of paid staff. Only 6 (IL, LA, MN, OR, PA, WI) out of our 22 have at least one fulltime paid staff person. Of these 6, one is a fulltime lobbyist, one is a half-time lobbyist, and one is a secretarial service. Only one SN has more than one paid staff person: Pennsylvania Women's Agenda has 3 full-time and 4 part-time staff, with their main focus on lobbying, and with 65% grant funding. Of the 22, it appears that 16 have no paid staff. We asked this question because we know that paid staff are a stabilizing factor and usually enhance the work of volunteers. The women's movement as a whole, and statewide networks in particular are still very dependent, perhaps too much so, on volunteer energy.

The heart of the survey was the question which asked the respondant to rate each area of the Plan on a scale of 1 (least important or no activity) to 5 (most important, much activity). The top 14 issues, in order of importance ascribed by our 22 SNs are given here; the number in parentheses is the number of networks giving that area a rating of 3,4,or 5: Women, Welfare & Poverty (15), Education (15), Battered Women (11), Rape (11), ERA (10), Employment (10), Older Women (10), Minority Women (10), Elective & Appointive Office (9), Insurance (9), Business (8), Offenders (8), Child Abuse (7), Homemakers (7).

This rank ordering parallels the finding of the survey of the national sample reported earlier in Part II (Table I). The violence issues are of great concern to everyone. Education and economic issues also rate high. Insurance and Offenders rank higher with the SNs than with the national sample, because the insurance industry and criminal law are regulated primarily at the state level.

MORE ABOUT INDIVIDUAL NETWORKS:

We do not have space here to give an account of each network in our sample. But we describe a few of them here to highlight the special character of each and to suggest the range of organizational styles.

THE ILLINOIS WOMEN'S AGENDA was founded in 1975, International Women's Year. Although they did not have the National Plan in hand when they started, they had something like it in mind. They now have 60 organizational members, representing all areas of the Plan, with an estimated constituency of 80,000. One of their principal concerns is the impact of the state's budget on women.

THE WISCONSIN WOMEN'S NETWORK was founded in 1979, by women who were delegates to the Houston Conference, and who established the Plan as the platform of the Wisconsin Network. WWN had a lot to do with Wisconsin's progressive Pay Equity legislation and model legislation on marital property. They are now focusing efforts on Family Leave policy, along with the continuing defense of reproductive freedom. WWN now has 65 organizational members, and their statement of purpose, bylaws and structure have served as models for other state networks (Missouri -1983, Connecticut -1984, *et.al.*)

THE SYNCHRONY COALITION in Arkansas was organized in 1983. It has 12 member organizations, four of which are predominantly black. Child care and prevention of teenage pregnancy are their focal issues for 1987-88. But when they started, their focus was increasing the number of women registered to vote, and working to increase the number of women in elective and appointive office.

THE MISSOURI WOMEN'S NETWORK was organized in 1983 with help from the Wisconsin Women's Network, and in conjunction with a national seminar of Federally Employed Women. Pat Pierstorff, president of MWN, is a Missouri leader of FEW. In 1984 and 1986, MWN organized the Women's Vote Project for Missouri, and in 1985 they hosted the annual conference of NWCC. A newsletter and post card alerts keep members tuned in on legislation pertaining to women's and children's health, control and prevention of family violence, insurance discrimination, and civil rights. MWN has 47 organizational and 200 individual members.

In 1985, at least two SNs formed specifically to work on promotion of the Forward Looking Strategies, which contains all the issues of the Plan and more: Minnesota Worldwide Women and the Forward Looking Strategies Coalition of California.

MINNESOTA WORLDWIDE WOMEN emphasizes "using the arts as a tool for community education and empowerment for action". Issues of common agreement are derived from the FLS document. MWW makes a special priority of "coalition building with community organizations, particularly across traditional barriers of race, nation, culture, class, sexual orientation, and disability."

THE FORWARD-LOOKING-STRATEGIES COALITION, in California, has 40 member organizations, representing an international population, and has produced more than 13 cable TV programs to demonstrate that "all issues are women's issues". The organization began in southern California, with a base in Los Angeles, and is currently working to include the whole state, while pushing to get more women with global perspectives on public and private boards and commissions.

THE SOUTH DAKOTA ADVOCACY NETWORK FOR WOMEN got started in 1984, and currently has 31 organizational members. Using a three-tiered approach of Study, Support, and Propose, the network has chosen five 1987-88 legislative priorities: children's issues, family violence, health issues, concerns of the elderly, and funding, especially for the issue of domestic violence.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

(Arkansas) Synchrony Coalition, P.O. Box 704, Fayetteville AR 72702. Dr. Margaret Clark, Pres.

(California) Forward Looking Strategies Coalition, 777 Silver Spur Road #225, Palos Verdes Peninsula, CA 90274. Lea Ann King, Chair.

Illinois Women's Agenda, 118 N. Clinton, Suite 200, Chicago IL 60606. Andrea M. Schleifer, Pres.

Minnesota Worldwide Women, 1929 South 5th St., Minneapolis MN 55454. Kathleen Remund, Co-ord./Editor.

Missouri Women's Network, 9004 East 57th Terrace, Raytown MO 64133. Pat Pierstorff, Pres.

South Dakota Advocacy Network for Women, P.O. Box 398, Sioux Falls SD 57101. Harlene Pesicka, Chair.

Wisconsin Women's Network, 8 W. Mifflin St., Madison WI 53703. Constance F. Threinen, Co. Chr.

The other statewide networks with representation on the NWCC board are:

Colorado Women's Coalition, c/o Colleen Kent de Ruiz, Chair, 832 Miller Court, Lakewood CO 80215

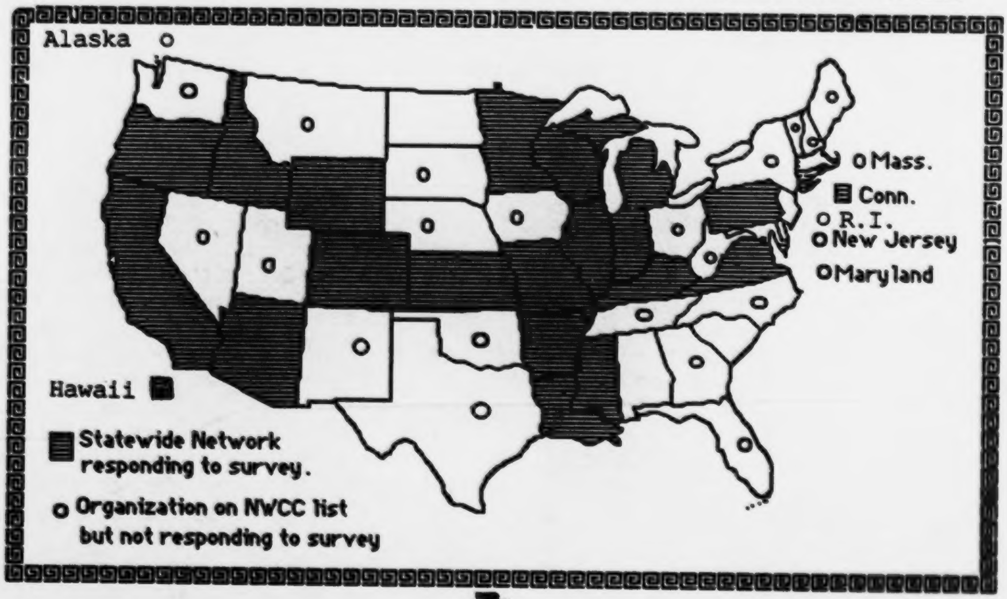
Connecticut Women's Network, 417 Whitney Rd. U-118, Storrs CT 06268. Gail Mellow, Chair.

Kentucky Women Advocates, Margaret B Britton, Chair, 3870 Garden Terrace, Owensboro KY 42301.

Louisiana Women's Network, P.O. Box 850, Jeanerette LA 70544. Lourna Bourg, Treasurer.

Washington Women United, P.O. Box 27815, Olympia WA 98507. Marianne Craft Norton, Pres.

U.S. MAP SHOWING STATES WITH STATEWIDE NETWORKS


Alaska ○
○ Mass.
▤ Conn.
○ R.I.
○ New Jersey
○ Maryland
Hawaii ▤
▤ Statewide Network responding to survey.
○ Organization on NWCC list but not responding to survey

PART III: A SECTION BY SECTION REPORT ON WOMEN'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN

GENERAL RESOURCES USED IN PART III:

In gathering information for Part III, I made use of many sources which were general with resepct to the Plan, that is, they touched on many areas of the Plan and belong in a general listing, rather than the more specialized Resources lists that appear at the end of each of the following sections. Those listed here are arranged in very approximate order of importance to this study, which is roughly measured, in the case of publications, by the number of post-its sticking out of the top of the book (I used small post-its to mark pages for reference).

The front-runner of post-its is:

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC JUSTICE AGENDA - Ideas for the States. Edited by Linda Tarr-Whelan and Lynne Crofton Isensee. 248 pages. The National Center for Policy Alternatives, 2000 Florida Ave. NW, Washington DC 20009. (202) 387-6030. This book has national data, specific recommendations (shaped for action at the State level), and a resource list for almost every area of the Plan, and more. Many of the organizations I contacted for information I found in this book. Though I had other sources for most of the data I used, I found this book very useful for cross-checking and rounding out the "Basic Facts" parts of each section of Part III.

Tied for second place are:

THE AMERICAN WOMAN 1987-88 - A Report in Depth. Edited by Sara E. Rix for the Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI). W.W. Norton, New York, 1987. 350 pages. Often referred to as "The WREI Report". Touches on many areas of the Plan, presents a lot of national data, is more historical than WEJA (above), is very well documented, with an excellent list of references and publications for each of the major sections of the book (Women in the 20th Century, Women and the Family, Women and the Economy, and The Women's Movement). This book is especially good for identifying specific government publications relating to women.

THE STATE BY STATE GUIDE TO WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS, by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund and Dr. Renee Cherow-O'Leary, McGraw-Hill, New York, NY. 1987. 524 pages. Detailed compilation of statutory law as it pertains to women, covering domestic relations, inheritance laws, fair employment laws, reproductive rights, etc. The first 100 pages gives an overview of women's legal rights in 33 different areas of law, and these discussions make some references to recent or precedent-setting case law. A very good companion to *WEJA*.

WOMEN IN WASHINGTON - Advocates for Public Policy, Edited by Irene Tinker. Vol. 7 in the Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills CA. 1983. This is a wonderful book, full of otherwise untold stories about women in, in-and-out, or out of government but all in Washington, or in the loosely defined but very effective network of women who have been in there, often behind the scenes, nudging the men. Think of any good federal legislation, or official policy, that has benefited women in the last twenty years, and you will find a story in here about how it came about. Written by the women who made it happen, or who were close to the action.

ORGANIZATIONS:

Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P St. NW, Suite 508, Washington DC 20036. (202) 872-1770. Founded in 1972 by Jane Chapman and Marge Gates as the first feminist "think tank", CWPS started out with a strong policy impact on credit discrimination against women, and over the years has dealt with almost every area of the Plan. The current Director, Leslie Wolfe, says CWPS will be working in four areas through 1990: occupational segregation, educational equity (esp. computer equity), a "Roundtable on Women and Workforce 2000", and establishment of a National Resource Center on Women and AIDS. Initiated the Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies in 1976. Serves as secretariat for the Technical Committee on Earnings Sharing (deals with sex discrimination in Social Security). Began publishing *RESPONSE* as a newsletter in 1976. *RESPONSE* is still edited by Jane Chapman, but has become a quarterly journal reporting current research, policy and advocacy work in almost every area of the Plan.

Institute for Women's Policy Research, 1400 20th St. NW Suite 104, Washington DC 20036. (202) 785-5100. The latest feminist "think tank", organized in 1987. Publications: *Unecessary Losses,* (on the cost to Americans of lack of family and medical leave), *Child Care Worker's Salaries*, and *Feminization of Poverty, a Second Look.*

Clearinghouse on Women's Issues, P.O. Box 70603, Freindship Heights, MD 20813. (301) 871-6106. Important monthly forum in the Washington area on wide variety of equity issues (employment, health, legal rights, older women's issues) and any other area of the Plan. 150 participating groups share information, materials, news. An Old Girls Network founded in early 70's by Daisy Fields.

-- Susanna Downie

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS
•equal opportunities to upper-level posts in Federally-funded cultural institutions (museums, libraries, universities, public radio, TV, etc.) •more equitable representation on grant-awarding boards, commissions, and panels. •more equitable representation among grant awardees •use of blind judging, wherever possible.

THE VISUAL ARTS:

The women's movement among women artists has taken many forms, from The Guerrilla Girls, who do zap actions and consciousness-raising, to much more sedate organizations such as The National Museum of Women in the Arts.

Women artists are now 38% of all artists (up from 26% in 1970), but only about 10% of exhibitions are of women artists' work. For prestigious museums the percentage is even lower: for the Whitney, it's 8%, and the Guggenheim, 4% (av., 1981-1986). The figure for Black and Hispanic artists (94% male) is about the same as that for women.

Women artists earn only 42% of male artists' earnings, a much larger wage gap than for women in the general labor force.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WOMEN IN THE ARTS

At the level of established culture, the crowning achievement of the past decade was the opening of The National Museum of Women in the Arts, in Washington DC, on April 7, 1987. Work on the project began in 1981, with a few dedicated women. NMWA now has 76,000 members nationwide, with support from State Committees in a growing number of states. The inaugural permanent collection, of over 300 works by women artists, was donated by Wilhelmina Cole Holladay and her husband, art patrons who, in 1964, noticed the dearth of women artists in museum collections and began collecting art by women. There is a book and gift shop (with special rates for members), a newsletter, paid internships, and a docent program. The *American Women Artists 1830-1930* exhibit is on tour until mid-88.

NCWAO: In 1977, there were enough local or regional organizations of women artists to form **The National Coalition of Women's Art Organizations,** which now has a membership of about 100 organizations and works to advocate for women artists. Getting consignment laws on the books has been a major recent battle. An artist can lose a whole batch of work with no recompense, because dealers have no legal responsibility for works taken on consignment. Consignment laws require the dealer to enter into a contract with the artist and to assume trusteeship of works taken on consignment. 25 states now have consigment laws (only 5 states had such laws in 1979).

NCWAO was an outgrowth of the **National Women's Caucus for Art,** which was formed in 1972 as a committee of the College Art Association, and became independent in 1975. The Caucus has about 3500 individual members and sponsors annual conferences and honor awards for women artists.

MUSIC:

Developments by women in music have followed traditional lines, with mostly separate lines of growth in classical, jazz, popular, and choral music.

The greatest efflorescence has been in women's popular music, with a large (but not well-documented) number of new women songwriters and performers growing by means of, and contibuting to, a national array of women's music festivals, women's production companies, women's coffeehouses and other performance spaces, and women's bookstores (which also sell records and tapes). The first of the festivals was the **National Women's Music Festival** in 1974, in Champaign-Urbana IL, organized by Kristen Lems. This festival has continued every year since, is now held in Bloomington, Indiana, and serves over 2000 women (and men) each year. Workshops on song-writing, and surviving in the music industry, with women in all phases of production, make this event more than just a festival.

"MICHIGAN": The really distinctive events began in 1976, with the first **Michigan Women's Music Festival,** which was women-only, and was held on 200 acres of western Michigan wilderness. The festival now owns its own land, 600 acres in Hart, MI, and attracts between 8000 and 10,000 women each year. Camping in a safe woman-only space, living in tents, with four nights of music under the stars, and a Day Stage for jamming, plus the magic of a small fleeting tent-city created and regulated entirely by women, has been replicated in four other locations. **The West Coast Women's Music and Comedy Festival** (1980, annual, averages 3000 to 4000 women), the **New England Women's Musical Retreat** (1981, annual, averages 1500 women), the **Southern Women's Music and Comedy Festival** (1984, annual, has grown to about 2000 attendance), and **Campfest** (1984, in Southeastern PA, with about 800 women, featuring HOT showers) all use the Michigan model, with variations, and all provide the unique experience of a small-scale social order created entirely by women.

Alongside the development of women's music at these festivals, has gone the development of women's crafts: ceramics, jewelry, the needle arts, and of course T-shirts and Buttons. For some craftswomen the festivals provide a large enough market to make a living, since they are scheduled at different times, so that the real "festy-goers" can attend all of them, and so the musicians can perform at all of them.

A large percentage of the musical performances at these festivals has been recorded by Lucia Kimber, founder and Director of the **Women's Music Archives**, in Fairfield, Connecticut. Kim and her co-workers are presently seeking 501c 3 status and funding for the Archive.

Since 1984 there has been a Women's Choral Festival held annually in the Midwest. It is organized by **The Sistersingers Network**, composed of 15 women's choirs, which has an individual membership of about 200, and a mailing list through which music is exchanged. The Network was founded by Calliope, a women's choir in St Louis, in 1984, and festivals have been held in Madison, Minneapolis, and Kansas City. One of the choirs performed at the New England Women's Music Festival in 1987, and one will perform at the Bloomington festival in 1988.

CLASSICAL MUSICIANS:
Women musicians and composers earn about 50% of what men earn, which is only $7000 (av. annual, 1986). Women earned 16% of PhDs in music in 1970. The figure is now 36%, with 51% of Master's Degrees. But the number of women with tenure stream positions in Music Departments nationwide has only increased 1% in ten years (from 21 to 22%). The three leading professional organizations of musicians, including the American Musicological Society, all have women's caucuses and have recently had women as presidents. **American Women Composers** was founded in 1976, by Tommie Carl. They produce annual concerts of women composer's works, as well as recordings on their own label. **The International League of Women Composers** was founded in 1975, by Nancy Van de Vate, with about 40 members; it now has about 250. In 1986, they held the 4th International Congress on Women in Music.

There has been slow but definite progress in women becoming conductors. Also, women now make up 29% of performers for major symphonies, and 48% of metropolitan and regional symphonies.

Leonarda Productions, founded by Marnie Hall in 1977, is still the best source for recordings or cassettes of classical music by women, including contemporary performances of forgotten women composers , such as Clara Schumann (1819-1896) and Fanny Mendelssohn (1805-1847) as well as works by prize-winning contemporary women composers such as Amy Beach (d. 1944), Judith Lang Zaimont, Katherine Hoover, and Ellen Zwilich.

FEMINIST BOOKSTORES: The explosion in women's cultural expression has been facilitated by and given rise to its own marketing system - a network of feminist bookstores that started with about 20 bookstores in 1976 and now has over 100 stores nationwide that carry only books by women. Carol Seejay, founder and editor of the *Feminist Bookstore News*, says the days of the volunteer bookstore are passing, and most now have some paid staff. Sales for feminist booksellers in 1987 are up 25% over 1986, with no particular advertising effort.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE ARTS: The trend in the last decade has been toward regionalization of arts support systems. In 1979, New York City was providing 70% of the support, nationwide, for the arts. In 1986, New York's share is down to 20%, while funding is at an all time high for state arts councils, metropolitan arts centers, and public support for opera, ballet, theatre, film-makers, visual artists and musicians. For example, federal funding for state art agencies was $50.5 million in 1977, but has soared to $216.5 million in 1987.

-- *with information from organizations listed below plus* Betty Friou and Adrian Black (musicologists), Marnie Hall (Leonarda) and Elizabeth Hayden Pizer (ILWC).

RESOURCES:

- **The National Museum of Women in the Arts**, 1250 New York Ave. NW, Washington DC 20005-3920. (202) 783-5000.
- **National Women's Caucus for Art**, Moore College of Art, 20th & the Parkway, Philadelphia PA 19103. (215) 854-0922. Mary Hopkins, Administrator.
- **National Coalition of Women's Art Organizations**, Dorothy Provis (Pres.), 123 East Beutel Rd., Port Washington, WI 53074. (414) 284-4458.
- **Women's Music Archives**, 208 Wildflower Lane, Fairfield CN 06430. Lucia Kimber, keeper of the tapes, also has info on the Sistersingers Network, and the Women's Music Festivals.
- **Leonarda Productions**, P.O. Box 1736, Cathedral Station, New York NY 10025. Send for catalogue.
- **American Women Composers**, 1690 36th St. NW Ste. 409, Washington DC 20007. (202) 342-8179.
- **Feminist Bookstore News**, P.O. Box 882554 San Francisco CA 94188. (415) 626-1556.
- **Nat'l Assoc. of State Arts Agencies:** (202)347-6352

LADYSLIPPER CATALOGUE: A TREASURY OF THE WOMEN'S MUSIC MOVEMENT
The major resource for women's music (all genres) is Ladyslipper, Inc., a wholesale and mail-order distributor of records and tapes of women's music which was founded by Laurie Fuchs in 1976 in Durham NC. First it was just Laurie, then a few more women came to help. By 1979, sales were supporting Laurie and one co-worker. Ladyslipper now supports six people. In 1978 they shipped less than 3000 records and tapes; in 1986, they shipped more than 50,000. Ladyslipper's catalogue began as a 6 x 8 " 16-pager, with less than 200 entries, only 30 of which were "mostly or entirely by women" (including production). The 1988 catalogue runs to 79 8 1/2 x 11" pages, with over 1200 entries. Categories include: Feminist music, New Age and Women's Spirituality, Classical, Reggae, Punk, New Wave, Rock, "Girl Groups", Soul, Blues, Jazz, Gospel, Country, a large International section, Children's, (feminist) Men's, and videos, songbooks, and posters. And in 1987 they acquired a sure sign of success - a toll-free order number. Ladyslipper, Inc., P.O. Box 3130, Durham NC 27705. Orders: (800)634-6044. Office number: (919) 683-1570.

BATTERED WOMEN

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

•elimination of violence in the home, as a national goal •national clearinghouse for information and technical and financial assistance to emergency shelters and other support services for battered women and their children •mass media campaign to educate the public •training programs for local and state law enforcement agencies and social welfare agencies •funding for shelters •removal of interspousal tort immunity •full legal services for victims of abuse •shelters should be sensitive to the bilingual and multicultural needs of ethnic and minority women.

The battered women's movement has made great strides since 1977. Starting with a handful of battered women's programs in the early 1970s, the battered women's movement has developed over 1,200 programs -- shelters, safehomes, hotlines, and advocacy projects -- throughout the country.

It has -

- **Organized the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence in 1979** as a vehicle for speaking in one voice to the needs of battered women and battered women's programs. NCADV also serves as a clearinghouse for information and organizational support.
- **Generated statewide funding for battered women's programs in 49 states** through marriage and divorce surcharges, court fees, and appropriations through state legislatures, beginning in the late 70's and continuing to the present.
- **Worked with federal legislators to develop the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, passed in October, 1984,** resulting in $8.5 million for battered women's programs in fiscal years 1986 and 1987.
- **Worked with federal legislators to develop priorities for Victims of Crime Assistance funds** -- priorities which have provided funding for battered women's programs and sexual assault programs nationwide. The VOCA Act was passed October, 1984.
- **Made shelters eligible for Title XX funds** (by extensive consulting with the Department of Health and Human Services on changes in Title XX regulations which designated battered women as a priority classification).
- **Served as advisors (late 70's through early 80's) to officials from the Department of Housing and Urban Development on the needs of battered women in such areas as Section 8 Housing,** and shelter eligibility for Community Development Block Grant Funds; also advised other federal policy makers to ensure that battered women in shelter were eligible for food stamps.
- **Starting in 1981, developed materials and strategies for annual promotion of Domestic Violence Awareness Month (October) and National Day of** Unity, a time to recognize the work of advocates for battered women, celebrate battered women making new lives for themselves, and mourn battered women who have lost their lives.
- **Established a national toll free hotline for battered women and their families, 1-800-333-SAFE (7233) in October, 1987.**
- Worked in conjunction with nine participating Johnson & Johnson brands to create **Shelter Aid, a nationwide community awareness campaign** geared toward providing funding for battered women's programs (1987).
- **Called attention to the needs of battered rural women, women of color, and lesbian women,** and supported organizing by battered and formerly battered women, lesbian women, rural women, women of color, prostitutes, older women, and differently-abled women.
- **Created special programs to meet the needs of children who have experienced or witnessed violence.**
- Provided training and developed written protocols for medical, law enforcement and criminal justice, mental health, and social services personnel.
- Defended battered women charged with assaulting or killing their abusers in self defense.

We have begun to take steps to address this tragic problem, there are now services in nearly every community, but we are still at the beginning of understanding the scope of the problem. **Estimates of how many women are abused by their husbands or lovers run as high as 1 in 2, as low as 1 in 10.** Shelters consistently find they cannot serve all the women that seek their help, but some estimate they serve at least half of the women that need help, others have long waiting lists and say they serve only 1 in 6 or 1 in 10 of those seeking help. The fact is, we dont know. But it is safe to say that there are still hundreds of thousands of women in the US who need our help, and dont know how to find us, or dont even know we exist. We have reason to believe that public awareness is at an all time high, but there has been no systematic measure of this. The Shelter Aid program, and the new hotline, are too recent to give us a better sense of the numbers. In some ways, we are still at the beginning.

-- Kerry Lobel,
Chair, Steering Committee of NCADV

RESOURCE

The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) Box 15127 Washington, DC 20003
(202) 293-8860 Hotline: 800/333-7233

BUSINESS / CREDIT

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:

BUSINESS: •full integration of women entrepreneurs into business-related government activities and procurement •addition of "women" to the definition of socially or economically disadvantaged groups in the Code of Federal Regulations •Small Business Administration programs to draw more women into SBA services, with particular outreach to minority women •an increase in the percentage of the annual dollar amount of procurement contracts awarded to women-owned businesses.

CREDIT: •Enforcement of The Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 •Nationwide education campaign to inform women of their rights under the law.

The number of women business owners has increased by 33% over 1976; there are now 3.3 million. Estimates are that half of all businesses will be owned by women by the year 2000, because women have been going into entrepreneurship three times faster than men have, in the last decade. In 1983, women owned 28% of all businesses reporting to the IRS, but accounted for only 11% of gross receipts. This discrepancy is related to the greater profitability of large, capital-intensive, full-time businesses over small, labor-intensive firms. Women-owned firms are typically small, with fewer than 20 employees, less than $100,000 capital equity, and less than $500,000 annual volume. Many are part-time and home-based, and most are in retail and service fields.

Although women own almost a third of all small businesses, they receive less than 1% of all government contracts awarded to small businesses.

But at the White House Conference on Small Business in 1986, 30% (about 200) of the 1823 elected delegates were women, up from 15% at the 1980 Conference. Most importantly, 17 out of the 50 State Delegation Chairs were NAWBO members. NAWBO presented a "Framework for the Future", and 23 of its 26 items were adopted in the Conference's top 60 recommendations.

The National Association of Women Business Owners (NAWBO) itself has to be considered one of the success stories of the decade. NAWBO was founded in 1974, in Washington DC, by 12 women. In 1987, it has a membership of 3000, in 40 chapters nationwide, and has established itself as the voice and representative of women business owners. Growing numbers of NAWBO members are winning appointive and elective office and serving on political staffs, at the local, state and federal levels.

Mary Del Brady, just past President of NAWBO, says worksite child care and parental leave are both important issues to NAWBO. "Framework for the Future II", which is being drafted by Virginia Littlejohn and others, and will be presented at next year's conference will be even longer range than FF I and includes parental leave, child care and proposals for cooperative arrangements for businesses that are too small to do some of these things on their own.

CREDIT:

There has not been vigorous enforcement of the1974 Act prohibiting discrimination, according to Cheryl Burke, who prepared a NAWBO report on access to credit. There are too many exemptions from some requirements of Regulation B, the implementing reg. Some banks maintain that it does not apply at all to commercial credit. There is a bill pending in Congress (one of the 22 bills in the Economic Equity Act) which would require the Federal Reserve Board to include commercial credit in its regulatory scheme.

The Fed argued that all that was needed was an educational effort to inform women of their rights. In 1986 they published a pamphlet, which NAWBO helped to write and distribute. But the Fed has not been inclined to amend the 1974 regulations, and opposed amendments when they came up in Congress in 1986.

The Small Business Administration did their own study of the problem and concluded that women actually had an easier time getting credit. But NAWBO members say the SBA study only looked at women who are already established in business. The problem is at the level of women who are trying to get start-up capital, who may not have much of a track record, and who may be trying to start a service enterprise and therefore need money to market their skills, not buy equipment or build inventory, for which banks more readily lend money.

Recently, The National Association of Bank Women conducted a pilot program nationwide, in which they brought lending officers of banks together with women business owners. The lending officers got information and increased awareness about the issues, in particular the way in which traditional banking reluctance to lend start-up capital to service ventures puts women at a disadvantage; the women got training in how to get loans.

– *with help from*: Gene Boyer, Mary Del Brady, Barbara Madro, Cheryl Burke, and Virginia Littlejohn, all of NAWBO.

RESOURCES:

National Association of Women Business Owners (NAWBO), 600 So. Federal St. Suite 400, Chicago IL 60605. (312)922-0465.

National Association of Bank Women (NABW), 500 North Michigan Ave., 1400 Chicago IL 60611. (312) 661-1700. Doris Payne, Exec. Director.

The American Woman's Economic Devlopment Corp. 60 E. 42nd St. Room 405, New York NY 10165. (800) 222-AWED.

Office of Women Business Owners, Small Business Admin., 1441 L St. NW Rm414, Washington DC 20416. (202) 653-8000.

CHILD ABUSE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•mobilize the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974 •establish state-funded child-abuse prevention, reporting, counseling and intervention programs •"child abuse" includes pornographic exploitation, sexual abuse, battering and neglect •programs should provide 24-hr. protective services, counselling, public awareness programs in schools, accurate data collection, and efforts to ensure prompt, sensitive attention by police, courts, and social services.

We now know the true scope of the problem...

It is not clear that child abuse has actually increased since 1974 or 1977. What is clear is that the campaign carried out mostly by the organizations listed under "Resources" (below) has been very successful in greatly increasing the reporting of child abuse. All states now have compulsory reporting laws. Reports of child abuse went from 669,000 nationwide in 1976 to over 2,000,000 in 1986. The American Humane Association has had a Federal contract since 1976 to conduct annual surveys to keep track of this figure. A scholarly survey in 1976, based on a national sample of over 2000 homes, estimated that 1.7 million children were abused that year, three times more than were reported, but about the same as the number currently being reported.

The number of reported child deaths due to maltreatment increased 30% between 1984 and 1986, when at least 1200 children died as a result of maltreatment. Somewhere between 25% and 50% of these cases had been reported at least once prior to the child's death.

An NCPCA report says that 14% of all child abuse reports involve sexual abuse. In 1984, less than 1.5% of reported child sexual abuse involved child care providers or babysitters. The vast majority of child sexual abuse occurs in the home, inflicted by a parent, relative or family friend.

Now that we know, let's fund prevention.

Since 1980, reports of child abuse and/or neglect have increased by 51%, but funds allotted to child protective services at federal, state and local levels have increased only 2% in real dollars. The result is a vast overload of services, with as many as 50% of reports (in some areas) going uninvestigated or unconfirmed. Nevertheless, the first step - arousing public awareness and securing cooperation in reporting - has been taken, and we now have a much clearer idea of the scope of the problem. As the 1976 survey suggests, we may now (in 1987) have reached the point where most cases of child abuse are actually being reported, sooner or later, and we can realistically design a national campaign to begin to lower the number of actual cases. The organization which has set this as its goal is NCPCA.

The National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse

When Donna Stone founded the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse in Chicago, in 1972, a psychiatrist said to her "Donna, it's crazy to think child abuse can be prevented". The common view then was that "Like poor people, child abuse will always be with us." Under Stone's leadership, the NCPCA defined its goal precisely as prevention and became a leader in the movement to arouse public awareness and institute effective prevention measures.

In 1976-7 they launched the first national media campaign, and local chapters began to form, the first one in Kansas in 1976. They now have 67 chapters, in all 50 states. At the end of the 1978 campaign, NCPCA estimated that over $30 million had been donated by print, radio and TV outlets, and this generosity has continued in subsequent years. By 1978, other countries in Europe, plus Japan and Australia, were picking up on the possibility of preventing child abuse and were using the NCPCA campaign materials to launch their own campaigns.

In 1980, NCPCA launched a national campaign to establish a Children's Trust Fund in every state. As of mid-1987, 41 states have enacted CTF legislation, which uses a tax on marriage licences or other sources to set aside dollars for the specific purpose of providing child abuse prevention services.

It is worth noting that Child Abuse seems to be an area of the Plan that has attracted a lot of men. When asked about the ratio of men to women working on this issue, the women I talked to at each of several offices seemed puzzled by the question, said there were many men on the Board or doing research or involved as volunteers. But no one had asked the question before, so there were no figures available.

Identifying risk factors is key to prevention.

In 1980 and the years since, a great deal of research has begun to identify risk factors for child abuse. Dr. Susan O'Connell, in Nashville in 1980, did a pioneering study which linked birthing procedures at hospitals to child abuse. The study found a much lower rate of abuse among mothers who had been in a "rooming in" situation, where they had lots of contact with the newborn immediately after birth and as often as they liked thereafter. Mothers who suffered hospital routine, with baby removed for days, and only brief contact at feeding time, had a much higher rate of reported child abuse later. But the sample in this study was small, the results were difficult to replicate, and subsequent work points to a more general family-centered childbirth model, rather than simple increased physical contact, as the variable that makes a difference.

Home Visiting, where the new mother is visited once a week by a nurse or paraprofessional, and **Parenting Education**, which usually involves weekly classes for up to a year after the birth of the child, are two other strategies that have been tried, with good results. Low income teenage parents are one of the higher risk groups, as are parents who are socially isolated.

And "family violence" experts agree that child abuse is correlated with spouse abuse 30-40% of the time. Put another way, the abuser in a family, more often than not the father, abuses everyone, not just his wife. Peer support groups and life skills training, as well as programs for abused children to help break the cycle so that they dont grow up to become abusive parents, are all part of a rounded prevention program that NCPCA is organizing through its local and regional affiliates.

Goal: 20% less Child Abuse by 1990.

NCPCA has set as their goal to bring about by the end of1990, a 20% reduction in child abuse. A catalogue of a wide variety of studies and organizing materials is free upon request.

Another good resource for materials and information is the Child Welfare League of America. CWL started in the1920's; it is a membership organization of over 500 social service agencies. Their main work is lobbying for progressive public policy and child welfare legislation. CWL publishes *The Child Welfare Journal* which reports on clinical research.

The National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect has annotated bibliographies on: Parenting Education, Reporting of Child Abuse, Model Programs, Prevention Programs (evaluation studies), and Treatment Outcomes (program evaluation).

-- *with major help from :* Heidi Swarts, and information from Debora Daro of NCPCA, Katie Bond of AHA, and Karen Malm at Child Welfare League.

RESOURCES:

- **The National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse (NCPCA)** 332 S. Michigan Ave. Suite 950, Chicago IL 60604-4357. (312) 663-3520.
- **The Child Welfare League of America**, 440 First St. Suite 310 NW Washington DC 20001. (202) 638-2952. *Child Welfare Journal* (quarterly)
- **Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information**, PO Box 1182 Washington DC 20013. (703) 821-2086. Catalogue of publications.
- **American Humane Association, National Resource Center for Child Abuse and Neglect**, 9725 East Hampden Ave Denver CO. 80231. 800-227-5242.
- **Children's Defense Fund**, 122 C St. NW Ste. 400 Washington DC 20001 (202) 628-8787.

CHILD CARE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•comprehensive, voluntary, flexible-hour, bias-free, non-sexist, quality child care and developmental programs •legislation and public funding for these programs •low-cost, ability-to-pay fee schedules and parent participation wherever possible •special provision for rural and migrant worker families •child care programs in collective bargaining agreements •education for parenthood programs by local and State school systems •city, county and state networks for information on child care, referrals, and follow-up evaluations of all listed care-givers.

The problem is more or less as stated in the *1986 Update*. **In 1985, at least 33.5 million children under 18 had mothers who work outside the home, 6 million more than in 1975.** This figure is expected to increase, as the "baby boom" generation moves through its prime child-bearing years, to 34.4 million by 1995. Moreover, mothers with increasingly younger children are entering the workforce. 48% of women with children under one year old were working in 1985, up from 31% in 1975. **By 1990, an estimated 12 million children will need day care. By conservative estimates , in 1986, there were 7 million children under age 13 who care for themselves for at least part of every day, while parents work.** The need for affordable child care everywhere in the U.S. is indeed reaching crisis proportions, and this is a long term trend.

And publicly funded child care **is** cost effective. A 1982 Census Bureau survey found that 45% of non-working single mothers would work if child care were affordable and available. An Ohio study found that the $2000 per year of state money spent on child care (per family), saved $6000 per year in public assistance for the parent who, without the child care, would have had to quit work.

Although expenses for child care vary with the age of the child, the annual cost for one year of child care was equivalent to 30% of the median family income in 1984, compared with about 11% in 1964.

Yet Federal funds (Title XX Block Grant money, and Dependent Care Tax Credits), which hardly made a dent in the problem, have been cut back or eliminated since 1981. In 1986, 23 states still offered Title XX funds for child care, but at a lower rate than in 1981. Moreover, the U.S. lags far behind all its European allies (except Britain) in dealing intelligently with this problem.

Though the problem of affordable quality child-care for everyone who needs it is a long way from being solved, and is actually worsening, the last decade has seen a great deal of activity and increasing attention to this issue. One culmination of that activity, is "ABC":

There is now ready for Congress a comprehensive child care package of legislation called "A Better Chance", or ABC. It is backed by The Alliance for Better Child Care, a coalition of about 85 organizations, including unions, religious groups, women's groups, child welfare organizations, and public policy organizations. ABC covers all facets of child care: day care, working parents, child care options, federal-state partnership arrangements; its goal is to make affordable high-quality child care available to working parents. It calls for $2.5 billion first year investment, to provide states with funds to offer child care assistance to working families earning less than 115% of state median income.

The Children's Defense Fund , founded in 1975, has divisions for Public Affairs, Child Welfare & Mental Health, and Child Care. They have taken a leadership role in the push for comprehensive federal child care legislation. Helen Blank and Amy Wilkins of the Children's Defense Fund are coordinating day-to-day advocacy activity for ABC in Congress, and The Alliance can be reached through CDF. Grassroots support is being organized by Alliance groups, which have begun to launch State ABC Alliances in 31 states.

Family Day Care providers are mostly women who provide child care for small numbers of children (usually 6 or less) in their homes. A network of people concerned about or providing family day care was established by The Children's Foundation in 1978. **In 1981, the network became independent and restructured itself as The National Association for Family Day Care; it currently has over 600 members.** The 1987 National Conference (their third) featured such workshops as "Time Management: Organizing Your Day Care Day", "Working with Difficult Parents", "Feeding Picky Eaters", "Developing a Management Style that Works for You", and "Getting your Newsletter Ready for the Printer", as well as workshops on the details of record-keeping, legal issues, and running child care as a business. Sandy Gellert, President of NAFDC, observes that the consciousness level of the general public is now increasing at a faster rate than in previous years. People are more aware of the crisis proportions of the problem and the need for collaboration between government and corporations. She says Real Estate agents now sell child care (when it's there to sell) the way they used to sell school systems.

A national survey of family day care providers in 1986 found that insurance was generally either not available at all or was not affordable . A new option called the National Care Provider Insurance Group Purchase Plan, sponsored by NAFDC and offered by BMF Marketing Insurance Services is now available. The national program is an expansion of one that has been successful in California for two years, offers broad coverage, including legal defense, and is very affordable (for more info, contact NAFDC).

WOMENS WORK = LOW PAY

The low compensation for almost any kind of child care work is one of the biggest structural problems in this issue area. In 1985, 97% of child care workers were women, with an estimated total of 2 million workers, 87% of whom earned less than minimum wage. Women who are well qualified and want to do the work find they cant live on what they make, so they leave, "in droves", according to Carol Pemberton of The Child Care Employee Project. For child care workers, the turnover rate averaged 41.7% in 1980. For other occupations, the rate averages around 20%. Stressful working conditions is another reason workers leave.

The Child Care Employee Project (CCEP) was founded in 1977, by child care workers, to improve the wages, status, and working conditions of the child care profession. In addition to their excellent literature, they produce a T-shirt that says "Rights, Raises, Respect!". CCEP tracks pay scales for child care workers, but finds that Bureau of Labor estimates and figures are misleading because they lump together family daycare providers, workers in private child care businesses, and pre-K teachers in public school systems.

In 1986, the median full time annual pay for the home-based workers was $4700. For the workers outside the home it was $9400, and for the public school system employees it was $14,000. From what data is available, it appears that child care workers have lost ground in the last 10 years, their wages increasing a little but at less than the rate of inflation. Only about 20,000 out of an estimated 1 million center-based child care workers are unionized. In centers where workers are unionized, wages are higher.

A National Committee on Pay Equity study found that child care workers were the 2nd most underpaid workers in America (after clergy, who ranked first.) A study in Wisconsin found that a large percentage of child care workers have second jobs in order to make ends meet.

Child-Care-For- Profit, led by Kinder Care Learning Centers, is doing fine, however, reporting earnings of $33 million in 1986. But 3/4 of Kinder Care workers start at minimum wage, and Kinder Care has located more of its centers in Southern states, where regulations of staff-child ratios are more lax and it's cheaper to run a child care center.

CCEP will do a nationwide 18-month study of quality indicators. CCEP has just received funding to do an 18 month study in five urban areas to try to come up with more accurate statistics than Bureau of Labor stats. They will do an analysis of quality indicators - the relation between pay, working conditions, and quality of child care. **Pemberton points out that raising standards without raising pay will not work.** It is necessary to do both simultaneously, and until there is a strong public committment to subsidize quality child care, only the wealthy will be able to afford it.

WORKSITE CHILDCARE:

Worksite child care in the U.S. began in 1971, with Stride Rite Shoes (Boston area). As of 1986, there are 3000 companies that help employees with child care needs, a four-fold increase just since 1983. Not all these companies actually provide child care facilities, and there are millions of businesses that have taken no action. But AT&T (no less) recently funded a study which called child care a "sound investment" for employers - it aids recruitment and retention and lowers absenteeism. This is not exactly news, but it is progress when a corporate giant wakes up to it. Worksite childcare is a positive step wherever it is taken, but the majority of American workers work in companies that are too

CAREER AND CHILD CARE CHOICES / Philadelphia PA

One model grassroots effort is CHOICE, an advocacy, referral, community education, and training program founded in 1971. Their Hotline, in operation since 1983, handles 5000 calls a year from people needing child care. They also maintain a data bank on providers, support groups, regulations etc. and provide a data service to policy planners and corporations. 10 corporations in a five-county area (around Phila.) contract with them for recruitment and training of child care workers. In 1986, they received a $700,000 grant from the Wm. Penn Foundation to identify, train and support women who want to open day care businesses. The program, a cooperative venture between Temple University, the Delaware Valley Child Care Council, Women in Transition, and CHOICE, is called Career and Child Care Choices, and emphasizes empowerment of women, with a strong career counselling focus, training the women in how to build child care into a business that pays a living wage. CHOICE/ Child Care Choices, attn: MaryAnn Mesure, 125 South 9th St. Suite 603, Philadelphia PA 19107. (215) 592-7644.

small to institute child care options without strong incentives from government. This is an area that needs a lot of work.

Some states have taken progressive steps, and state legislation, though mostly piecemeal (except for Massachusetts), is beginning to address the issues. One of the pioneers among states, California established a state-funded Child Care Resource and Referral Network in 1975, which now encompasses all 58 counties, providing information and referrals to parents, and technical assistance to providers, legislators and the general public. In 1987, San Francisco began requiring developers to include day care centers in new structures (including new hotels) or pay $1 per square foot into the city's fund for construction of day care facilities.

States and cities have had to be pushed, sometimes quite hard , into taking progressive steps. AFSCME is the leader, among unions, in negotiating employee contracts with good child care provisions. AFSCME membership is more than 50% female, and the initiative for many of the good child care arrangements that are now in place came from the Local women, usually supported by local women's groups, and frequently in cooperation with other unions:

••AFSCME Local 1000 and Council 82, in New York (state) negotiated contracts which have now resulted in 25 state workplaces offering worksite childcare, serving a total of 1000 children. The pilot center, in Manhattan, opened in 1979.

•• In Denver, Colorado, in 1984, five AFSCME Local 158 women began organizing to get child care for city employees. With support from local women's groups, and after a lot of patient work with city officials, their efforts paid off, in 1987, with the opening of a day care center on city property. City employees can also elect to pay for other locally provided child care with pre-tax dollars.

Service Employees International Union (SEIU) is another union that negotiates good child care provisions for its members.

•• In Boston, SEIU Local 285 Executive Director Nancy Mills is a leader in a coalition of 11 unions which have adopted a "blitz" strategy (1987), putting child care on the bargaining table in dozens of contract negotiations throughout the city.

••52 pre-schoolers (age 2 to 5) , children of state employees represented by SEIU, now enjoy day care at The Poppy Patch, the new facility in their parents' office building in Sacramento. The Poppy Patch is open from 5:45am to 5:30pm, and is now in its second year. The state has funded 12 more centers like The Poppy Patch, and more are being developed.

The most comprehensive state action on child care is in Massachusetts, which launched the Governor's Day Care Partnership Initiative in 1986. The Initiative came about after at least six years of organizing and lobbying by the (Mass.) Day Care Coalition. Working with its employees, unions, businesses, schools, and the Coalition, Massachusetts has increased the supply of daycare by 15,000 slots, 13,000 of which are for children of low-income parents. The wages of daycare workers have increased 32% (those employed under state contract) and 41% (family day care workers). Massachusetts budgeted $28m for day care in 1987.

With states and municipalities (and their unions) leading the way, child care advocates will have an increasingly rich array of model programs and practical information to use in their work with legislators and corporations.

—Susanna Downie, with help from all the resources listed below, and a special thanks to Happy Fernandez, Professor of Child Advocacy and Child Care Systems at Temple University.

RESOURCES:

Children's Defense Fund, 122 C Street, NW, Washington DC 20001. (202) 628-8787. Information on Federal and State legislation and policy.

Child Care Employee Project (CCEP), PO Box 5603, Berkeley CA 94705. (415) 653-9889. Newsletter, information sheets, booklets, free catalogue.

National Association for Family Day Care, P.O. Box 71268, Murray UT 84107. (newsletter). Sandy Gellert, Pres., (215) 782-8053. HQ: NAFDC 815 15th St. NW Suite 928, Washington DC 20005.

The Conference Board, 845 3rd Ave., New York NY 10022. (212) 759-0900. Information on employer-sponsored child care. Non-profit business research, started a division on Work and Family Information in 1983.

The National Commission on Working Women, 1325 G. St. NW Lower Level, Washington DC 20005. (202) 737-5764. Good Fact Sheets on Child Care.

American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, 1625 L St. NW, Washington DC 20036. (202) 452-4800. Joyce Long, Co-ordinator for Child Care Policy, in the Women's Rights Community Action Dept.

Service Employees International Union, 1313 L St. NW, Washington DC 20005. (202) 898-3200.

Massachusetts: Governor's Day Care Initiative, for info call: Ginny Freeman, Human Services Committee of the MA House: (617) 722-2140.

PUBLICATIONS:

•*Child Care in a Family Setting: A Comprehensive Guide to Family Day Care,* A training tool and text book. Recommended by NAFDC, no author listed.

•*ARGUS,* the journal for family day care professionals, Box 15146, Atlanta GA 30333. $18 yr.

•*The 1987 Handbook of Associations and Other Groups* (Newly revised), from The Children's Foundation, 815 15th St. NW Suite 928, Washington DC 20005.

•From CCEP: *Managing the Media Maze:* : A Resource Guide for Child Care Advocates. $3. *Comparable Worth:* Questions and Answers for Child Care Staff. $3. *Beyond Just Working With Kids:* Preparing Early Childhood Teachers to Advocate for Themselves and Others. $4.

DISABLED WOMEN

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS
•access to education, training and employment based on the real needs of disabled women •development of service programs controlled by disabled people •training and research programs focused on the health needs of the disabled •Medicaid and Medicare coverage for services and supplies needed by the disabled •Title XX funds for attendant care •include disabled women under the 1964 Civil Rights Act •equal rights to have, keep, or adopt children •legislation, funds and services to make independent living a reality for disabled women.

Although women with disabilities as a group are not much better off in 1987 than they were in 1977, there are many good programs that have sprung up in the last ten years around the country, public consciousness about the needs of disabled people has improved a little, disabled women's issues are beginning to be included in general information on women's issues, and there has been an increasing amount of organizing by the women themselves, across disabilities.

SOME BASIC FACTS:
•Of the approximately 43 million Americans with some disability, 10 million are children, and 46% are female.
• Since the mid-70's, federal laws have mandated mainstreaming as much as possible for disabled children. Nevertheless, an estimated 360,000 disabled children are still being placed in "handicapped only" schools or programs, which supports and prolongs stereotyping and discrimination, and lowers the disabled child's motivation for further education or work.
•Minorities are overrepresented among the disabled: for the general population (working age adults), 15% are disabled. For Blacks, 22% are disabled. For Hispanics, the figure is 20% and for Native Americans, 19%.
•Unemployment among working-age disabled people exceeds 50%. But disabled men are twice as likely to have jobs as disabled women. Disabled women working full time earned 56% of disabled men's earnings (1980 Census data).
•Two out of every three disabled women report an annual income below $4,000.

[**NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY**: Language affects the way people think. "Women with disabilities" emphasizes the women, and not the disability. "The disabled" dehumanizes persons with disabilites and makes them into objects. "Wheelchair bound" conjures up the image of a woman tied to a wheelchair, rather than a woman who uses a wheelchair. Women who are blind prefer "blind" to "sightless". Women with disabilities are handicapped only by the obstacles society places in their way. ~ *a reminder from W.W.D.U.*]

BIRTH OF DREDF: Until 1980, there was very little of the kind of information public or private agencies need to deal specifically with the needs of *women* with disabilities. In 1980, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF) sought funds administered under Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) to do a study of disabled women's educational attainment. The results showed that special education for children with disabilities (both males and females) which segregated them actually held back their educational attainment. Disabled persons who had been "mainstreamed", regardless of sex or severity of disability, showed higher educational attainment than those who had not been mainstreamed. DREDF itself was founded in 1979, by disabled people and parents of disabled children. They now do mostly policy studies, programs and education training, and litigation for the disabled. They are conscientious about including disabled women's issues and concerns in their programs.

In 1973, Federal legislation (PL94-142) was passed mandating the least restricted environment for disabled children (ages 5-21) in public schools. In 1986, PL99-457 was passed, extending coverage to all children (from birth to age 21), though states are not required to implement it.

WEEA'S GOOD BEGINNINGS: Between 1980 and 1983, under the leadership of Leslie Wolfe, WEEA funded some very good projects. In 1981, WEEA funded the first national conference on educational equity for women and girls with disabilities. This was the first time that educators, equity specialists, and professionals who work with disabled women came together with disabled women themselves to identify issues and learn from each other. The following year, WEEA funded another conference, which was produced by Project REED (Resources on Educational Equity for the Disabled) of the Women's Action Alliance in New York City. About 1/3 of the attendees were disabled. The conference agenda made connections between racism, sexism and "able-ism", and marked a new level of integration for everyone who attended.

These conferences sparked others in different parts of the country, and a number of networks developed that have continued to produce beneficial changes. One very tangible product was *No More Stares* , a rolemodel book for disabled women and girls, also funded by WEEA, and based on some of the findings of the 1982 conference. Subsequent regional conferences focussed on getting women with disabilities into nontraditional areas of employment. All of these conferences stimulated on-going coalitions between women with disabilites and rehabilitation specialists, educators and others who had previously only worked with them in a professional setting. But WEEA funding has been slashed every year under Reagan, and Leslie Wolfe was fired in 1983. Since then this source of funding for disabled women's organizing and research has dried up.

DECADE OF THE DISABLED: At the same time, in 1981, the United Nations declared the International Decade of the Disabled, which has provided many occasions worldwide for disabled people to organize with each other and with representatives of the institutions that affect them. It is the first time that people with disabilities have been encouraged, on a global basis, to speak for themselves to the governments and institutions that decide public policy. Largely as a result of the UN Decade, there is a global movement among disabled people to come together across disabilities, sex, race, and national barriers. By doing so, they may build enough political force to make a major difference in the way institutions, and eventually, all people treat people with disabilities.

OTHER GOOD BEGINNINGS: In addition, many women's organizations have begun to incorporate disabled womens' and girls' issues into their programs and services. For instance, **Girl Scouts of America** has trained its troop leaders on the issues, and many local troops have had programs or special projects for girls with disabilities, including public education about disabled children. **Planned Parenthood** has also made changes, with many local offices now offering special services for disabled women. ***The New OurBodies OurSelves*** includes disabled women's issues wherever appropriate throughout the much expanded text. And the **National Women and the Law Conference** has included a panel on Disabled Women's Legal Issues since 1983, as well as having a seat on their Board for a disabled woman.

Established groups that deal specifically with the disabled tend to have been structured by and for men and have a mixed record on women; for instance, a few Centers for Independent Living have adapted to the specific requirements of disabled women, but most have not.

HEADSTART 'S RESOURCE ACCESS PROGRAMS: In 1974, Headstart legislation mandated 10% of available slots for handicapped children. Special services called Resource Access Programs were set up to give training and technical assistance to Headstart Programs so that they could better serve handicapped children. Under Headstart regs, needs assessment requires substantial parent involvement, as do the Citizen Councils that oversee Headstart programs. Parents (usually mothers) of children sometimes volunteer, or get training and go on to become directors or teachers. All of these factors have helped Headstart programs become and remain sensitive to the needs of girls with disabilities.

CLEARINGHOUSE ON DISABLED WOMEN'S PROGRAMS: There is no national data yet on programs especially for women with disabilities, but a survey was conducted this past summer (1987) by Educational Equity Concepts, which recently opened The Clearinghouse on Disabled Women's Programs and got funding (from the Ms. Foundation) at the end of 1986 to do the survey. They sent out about 4000 questionnaires, to individuals and known programs. Ellen Rubin is currently processing the results, which should be available some time in1988. EEC is now seeking funds for continuing the project, and for publication of the directory.

ORGANIZING BY WOMEN WITH DISABILITIES: At the end-of-decade World Conference of Women in Nairobi, Kenya, in July 1985, disabled women did some international networking and founded **Disabled Women's International**, a global net-

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ONE GOOD BOOK: *With the Power of Each Breath* is an anthology of writings by women with disabilities, published in 1985 by **Cleis Press**. About 50 women, with a wide variety of disabilities, write without censorship about their experiences and feelings about their disabilities. If you are not disabled, and want to know what it's like to be blind or quadriplegic or learning disabled or stereotyped by family and schoolmates as disabled, this book would be a good place to start.

ONE GOOD PROGRAM, BUILT AROUND PEER MENTORING: One very good support group for disabled women and girls was created by Harilyn Rousso, at the YWCA in mid-town Manhattan. Ms. Rousso has Cerebral Palsy and knew from her own experience that the problem of overcoming internalized negative self-images, internalized disability, was the basic problem that had to be addressed. With the support of the YWCA, in 1984, Harilyn set up the Working Project for Disabled Women and Girls, with the goal of increasing the educational and vocational aspiration of teenage women with disabilities. Providing varied contact with adult disabled women who serve as mentors and rolemodels for a group of 35 teenagers in the first year, the program has stayed small, largely because Harilyn feels that the work needs to be intensive, and for many of the girls, longterm. Various types of mentoring have been tried, serving a total of about 100 women. A secondary purpose was to develop a mentoring model that could be replicated, and versions of the NY program are being tried or have been tried in Los Angeles, Spokane, Albany, Pittsburgh, and Westchester (NY).

work about 300 strong at present, connected by a newsletter. For the first two years/issues the newsletter was produced by Nina Ellinger and others in the Disabled Women's Group in Denmark. Editorship has just passed to Women With Disabilities United (WWDU) and Disabled In Action of Metropolitan New York, for the next two years, and everyone interested in disabled women's perspectives and issues is invited to subscribe and to contribute articles (see Resources, below).

WOMYN'S BRAILLE PRESS, INC. is an all volunteer group, of blind and sighted women, founded in 1981 to make feminist literature available on tape and in braille. They now have over 250 books and resource guides available, and a subscriber list of over 200 in the US, Canada, England and Australia. A subscription (sliding scale $25 to $10) gets you unlimited borrowing privileges, a quarterly newsletter in print, tape or braille, and a catalog of materials available.

HANDICAPPED ORGANIZED WOMEN: HOW was founded in Charlotte NC, in 1979, by Deborah McKeithan, who still serves as President. In 1983, HOW began to organize nationally, and it now has over 140 chapters or affiliated groups nationwide. HOW emphasizes self-help and peer support, across disabilities and with attention to the specific concerns of women, especially health and employment. The national office offers chapter development resources, including Volunteer Involvement and Leadership Development .

Though she is legally blind and has epilepsy, cerebral MS, and stroke damage, Ms. McKeithan travels not only to help organize HOW chapters, but also to Washington to lobby for the Fair Share Incentive Plan, which would remove a major work disincentive for the handicapped , who, under current law, lose their Medicare benefits if they take a paying job. **The Fair Share Incentives Plan (H.R. 1971, S.936) would allow the working disabled to keep their Medicare coverage by paying for it on a sliding scale based on income.** McKeithan thought up the Fair Share Plan when HOW became sufficiently well-established (in 1985) for her to switch from full-time volunteer to a salaried position. Since she is uninsurable (by private insurer's criteria), she realized how powerful a work- disincentive the loss of Medicare coverage was, and proceeded to try to get the law changed before her two-year "work-trial" period is up.

IN SUMMARY:

Women with disabilities have not only the challenge of their disabilities, whatever they are. They must work with disabled men on disability issues in order to impact institutions, and with non-disabled women on women's issues, and across disabilities (and other barriers, such as race or age), when they work with each other. That's a lot of extra work, just to define their issues and make themselves heard. Therefore it is very important that non-disabled women take responsibility for including disabled women's concerns and issues in their own organizing and information- gathering and dissemination, and speak up for disabled women's rights in contexts where there are no women with disabilites to represent themselves.

- - *Information and leads for this article were provided by* : Mary Lou Breslin, Adrian Asch, Harilyn Rousso, Merle Froschl, Ellen Rubin, Jane DeWeerd (Headstart). Julia Schechter and Ruth Begun (WWDU), and Dinah Heller (NYU/ RAP)

RESOURCES:

Educational Equity Concepts, 114 East 32nd St., New York NY, 10016. (212) 725-1803. Merle Froschl or Ellen Rubin.

Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Inc., 2212 Sixth St., Berkeley, CA 94710. Mary Lou Breslin (Deputy Dir.) (415) 644-2555.

Handicapped Organized Women, Inc. P.O. Box 35481, Carlotte NC 28235. (704) 376-4735.

Networking Project on Disabled Women and Girls, YWCA 610 Lexington Ave. NY NY 10022. Harilyn Rousso, (212) 755-4500.

Women's Braille Press, P.O. Box 8475, Minneapolis MN 55408. (612)872-4352.

National Council on the Handicapped, 800 Independence Ave. SW, Ste. 814, Washington DC 20951. (202) 267-3846.

World Institute on Disabilities: 1720 Oregon St. Berkeley CA, 94703. (415) 486-8314. Judy Heumann.

Disabled Women's International and Women With Disabilities United (WWDU), P.O. Box 323 Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY 10009 (see below)

PUBLICATIONS:

Building Community , a manual exploring issues of women and disability, by The Women and Disability Awareness Project at Educational Equity Concepts , 1984. With grant from Ms. Foundation.

With the Power of Each Breath, A Disabled Women's Anthology, edited by Susan E. Browne, Debra Connors, and Nanci Stern, Cleis Press, Pittsburgh/SanFrancisco, 1985.

No More Stares, stories and articles, published by DREDF, 1982. Berkeley

The Disability Rag, bi-monthly newspaper for disabled people, PO Box 6453, Syracuse NY 13217 (subscriptions). PO Box 145, Louisville KY 40201 (office, inquiries). Published by Cass Irvin and friends, including some men, but with full openness to concerns of women with disabilities.

Disabled Women's International, ed. Ruth Begun and Julia Schechter, c/o WWDU-DIA, P.O. Box 323, Stuyvesant Station, New York NY 10009. $10 - $25 (sliding scale, whatever you can afford) membership and subscription. *DWI* carries notices of events, book reviews, and articles .

EDUCATION

NATIONAL PLAN PRIORITIES

•enforcement of all laws prohibiting discrimination at all levels of education •opposition to any weakening of these laws and regulations •gather data by sex as well as race or ethnicity (in school surveys) •bilingual vocational training •state school systems should: review books and curriculum, include Women's History in the curriculum, and institute non-sexist and non-racist counseling at every level of the system.

In some respects women have made more gains in this area than in almost any other, at least in Higher Education. Women achieved parity with men in undergraduate colleges nationwide in 1977, and have since maintained or exceeded parity (50-51% of enrollments, 52% in 1984). In 1982, 15% of enrolled women were members of minority groups; among Blacks, Native Americans, and Hispanics (but not Asian Pacific students) women's enrollment exceeded that of men (minority groups total about 18% of the population at large). It was not until 1982 that females earned 50% of all bachelor's degrees, up from 43% in 1970. For Master's Degrees: in 1970, women earned about 40%; by 1984 they were earning 49%. For PhDs granted, the proportion of women rose from 13% in 1970 to 33.5% in 1984.

In the early seventies, the percentage of female enrollment in first professional degree programs (Law, Medicine, Dentistry, MBA, Divinity) began to rise, and shows the same pattern as for other post-baccalaureate degrees:

DEGREES GRANTED, PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN, OF TOTAL DEGREES AWARDED THAT ACADEMIC YEAR (totals approximate)

	1975		1985	
Field/Degree	*percent women*	*total degrees*	*percent women*	*total degrees*
Business (MBA)	8%	36,240	30.5%	67,500
Dentistry	3%	4,780	20.7%	5340
Medicine	13%	12,450	30.5%	16,000
Law (LLB or JD)	15%	29,300	38%	37,500
Computer Sci. (MS)	14.7%	2300	26.6%	7100
Engineering (ME)	2%	15,350	10.7%	21,500
Engineering (PhD)	2%	3100	6.4%	3200

(from *Digest of Education Statistics 1987*)

While the above figures represent the choices of (mostly) young women, it is also important to note that the fastest growing sector of post-secondary enrollments is "re-entry women", who are usually at least 5 years older than the 18-22 year olds who dominate undergraduate populations, and who are returning to school after having interrupted their education to have children.

The Higher the Fewer: But the well-known phenomenon of "the higher, the fewer" does seem to be alive and well, especially when we look at the upper end of the pedagogical spectrum. Between 1975 and 1985, the number of women college or university presidents doubled, from 148 to 300, about 8% of whom are women of color. But 300 is only 5% of the total of such positions. Of a total of 400,000 full-time faculty in 1983, women accounted for 27.3%, up from 22.3% in 1972. But at the full professor level, women went from 9.8% in 1972 to only 10.7% in 1983. The WREI Report (1987) points out that this apparently slow growth is due in part to the fact that a greater proportion of women were promoted to full professorships in the 1940's, and now that those women have retired or are retiring, younger women are not moving into senior positions fast enough to both replace them *and* increase the total proportion of women.

Secondary Schools: At lower levels of the educational system, the picture is less clear and less positive. Only 71% of all students beginning high school (9th grade) actually graduate (1984). Graduation rates are not available by sex and race, but a 1983 US Dept. of Education report indicates that the dropout rate for females is almost as high as that for males. And females list as one of their reasons for dropping out : "getting married" or "pregnancy" (where the males list "going to work").

Females who fail to complete high school suffer higher unemployment rates than males: in March, 1985, among females aged 25-64 who had not graduated from high school, only 44% were employed, while for male nongraduates of the same ages 73% were employed. In addition, tracking continues to channel females into lower-wage occupations. In secondary school programs, nearly 70% of the girls are enrolled in programs leading to below-average-wage jobs, and less than 10% are enrolled in programs leading to the highest paid jobs (1985).

Education may be worth less to females than to males, but there is a strong correlation between lack of education and poverty. In 1981, the poverty rate was 49% for those with less than 8 years of school, 27.8% for high school graduates, and 16% for those with one or more years of college. (For more information of this type, please see the *1986 PEER Report Card*, a State by State survey of women and girls in America's schools, and PEER Issue Overviews, address listed under *Resources*., below.)

WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO THE PROBLEMS

Another way to measure progress is to look at what new organizations have emerged to deal with educational inequities:

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT: Enacted in 1974, with a $10m budget in 1980, WEEA has had its budget slashed every year since then. Continual attack from the Reagan Administration included the firing of Leslie Wolfe, the dynamic and hard-working proponent of educational equity who served as Director from 1979 until 1983, when the program was downgraded and her position was eliminated. Between 1980 and 1983, WEEA grants funded: The Black Women's Education and Policy Network (at Wellesley), the Asian Women United Project, the national outreach program of the Women's History Week Project (q.v.), the Three-states project at PEER in 1980, the Bay Area Bi-lingual Education League, the DREDF survey and conferences on/for disabled women (the first of their kind) (see *Disabled Women*), and a directory, a survey and networking among Native American women which resulted in the formation of the Ohoyo Network.

The Reagan administration would have zeroed WEEA out altogether, but Congress has kept up funding, though at ever lower levels. In 1987, WEEA supporters were fighting to keep the $3.4m 1986 budget from being further cut.

THE PROJECT ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS (PEER) was founded in 1974, with Ford Foundation grants, and with Polly Knox as founding Director, to watchdog enforcement of Title IX. It has become a prime resource for information and advocacy on a broad range of issues, such as teenage pregnancy (and its devastating effect on women's education), computer literacy , vocational education and other major areas of inequity in girls' education. They conduct research, produce action kits for use at the grassroots level, and work to affect policy at the Federal level.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION One of the clearest success stories of the decade is the growth and maturation of the National Women's Studies Association. Founded in 1977, NWSA began as a network of 276 Women's Studies programs. It is now (1987) a full-fledged professional organization linking 503 Women's Studies programs, 64 of which give Master's degrees in W.S., and 26 of which give PhDs. Caryn McTighe Musil, the current Coordinator, estimates that 250,000 students are enrolled in at least one W.S. course each year.

NWSA has always been concerned with issues of racism, and has worked to include women-of-color perspectives in its scholarship. This year NWSA held its 10th annual conference at Spelman College in Atlanta GA, where 30% of the presenters were women of color.

The national office has been through at least one serious fiscal crisis, when they had no paid national coordinator; but with the 67% growth in membership since 1984, and membership now at about 3500, the office has 3 paid staff and is about to add 4 more. Development plans call for newly strengthened research activities, bibliographies, and a large data base survey on Women's Studies programs. A standing issue at NWSA is "main-streaming" - how to integrate feminist scholarship into existing curricula.

A NEW DISCIPLINE, A NEW PEDAGOGY: In the US, Women's Studies has been busy creating a new "discipline", which is so deeply and necessarily interdisciplinary that it is still "invisible" to some guardians of academic orthodoxy, and the battle for recognition as a "true discipline" is still going on.

Meanwhile, women in traditional disciplines have organized a Women's Caucus (or equivalent) in every major professional academic association in the country. Some of these groups became so strong that they split off from the parent. For example, the Association for Women in Psychology formed in 1969 at an American Psychological Association meeting, with a handful of women and a few men. They became independent and held their first national conference in 1973, and by 1978 had 1500 members. This story can be told, with variations, for many other disciplines, particularly in the Social Sciences and Humanities.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S STUDIES NETWORK: IWSN got its start at Copenhagen in 1980, at the mid-decade conference. At Nairobi in 1985, Women's Studies panels and workshops ran back to back for the whole ten days of the NGO Forum. Dr. Florence Howe, founder of The Feminist Press, and one of the Foremothers of IWSN, estimates that there are at least 300 Centers for Research on Women worldwide, and a survey and directory of these Centers is in the works. For more information on IWSN, see *International Affairs*.

FEMINIST JOURNALS AND FEMINIST TEACHER: There has also been an explosion of journals for women's scholarly publications, strongly related to the above mentioned growth of NWSA and other women's professional academic associations. There are at least 30 of these new journals, all founded since the mid-70's. The first was *Signs* in 1975. But since scholarly articles typically do not deal in current events, and academe in general emphasizes publishing over teaching, there was a need for a periodical that addressed the specific problems and issues and news of feminist pedagogy.

In 1984, *Feminist Teacher* was born. It comes out three times a year, averages 44 pages, has a mailing list of about 700, and goes to teachers and some librarians and administrators, who want news, reviews, course syllabi, and columns about feminist teacher issues and events, including legal cases and legislation. Paula Krebs, the editor, says *FT* is for anyone teaching Women's Studies, but is especially targeted to feminist teachers who are not lucky enough to be teaching in a Women's Studies Program, people who teach regular history, or literature, or social studies and want to do it in a feminist and non-racist way. The magazine is very much reader-developed, and each issue carries a "Feminist Teacher Network" section, with names and addresses of new subscribers so that people can get in touch with each other.

WOMEN'S HISTORY MONTH: Another success story of the decade is the phenomenal growth of the Women's History Project, which began as Women's History Week in Sonoma County, California, in 1977, and is now Women's History Month and is nationwide. It was started with three volunteers (Maria Cueva, Mary Ruthsdotter, and Bette Morgan) and Molly McGregor, who was a staff person for the county. In 1980, they got a grant from WEEA to go national. US Public Law 100-9 (1986) made Women's History Month official for the whole country . They now have a paid staff of 9 (the project is non-profit) and a mailing list of 38,000. Bette Morgan estimates that this list is 65% public school K-12 educators. In 1980, the project's offerings fit on a one-page flyer; now they send out a 36-page catalog, listing curriculum guides for public school classes K through 12, and their now familiar posters and materials for organizing the Week or Month in your area. They also do teacher training nationwide.

COMPUTER EQUITY, A MAJOR ISSUE: One educational issue that has emerged clearly since 1977 is the whole problem of women and technology, particularly the problem of how to keep girls in science, math and computer science classes in primary and secondary schools, so that they will at least have the option of going into the technical and scientific fields which pay well and offer greater opportunity than the fields which so many young women are forced to choose because they do not have the necessary preparation for anything else. All scientific fields now require fairly sophisticated use of computers at ever earlier and earlier stages of training.

The pattern of inequity here is even greater for minorities, particularly minority females. Boys outnumber girls 2 to 1 in high-school computer science classes; of the nation's 2.7million scientists, only 5 % are women, only 1.5% are minorities (50% of whom are Asian, 40% of whom are foreign born and educated). Bias at all levels of the system is pervasive and increasingly well-documented, and is such that by the time they get to highschool, girls as well as boys see Math, Science, and Computers, as "male", and not appropriate subjects for girls. In spite of this, as early as 1981, girls accounted for an average of almost 37% of enrollments in High School Computer Programming courses (in a three-state study conducted by PEER, in 1981-2).

Some positive efforts to address the problem of computer inequity:

•**Girls Clubs of America, in 1987, received a $221,000 Ford Foundation grant "to develop new models of intervention and service in math, science and technology education for inner city girls".** This grant supports the GCA Project SMART program, which was started in 1985, and has published a report on case studies of the relationships between Girls' Clubs and schools in providing math and science education to girls age 9 through 14 (reports available from GCA National Resource Center, 441 West Michigan St., Indianapolis IN 46202.)

•**Women's Action Alliance (WAA) has a Computer Equity Program, which was started in 1983, and was funded by WEEA, to develop, test and publish school based strategies for eliminating girls ' computer-avoidance at the middle school level.** In 1986, WAA conducted a pilot study to test some materials they had developed in earlier stages of the program. Five schools participated. At the control school, where no changes were introduced, there was no increase in girl's computer use. At the "Attention" control school (where "they got everything but the book", ie the teacher did a few things differently), there was an increase of 14%. **At the three experimental schools however, there was a whopping 144% increase in girls' computer use.** The materials and methods used in the experimental schools were designed to be replicable in any school setting. Jo Sanders conducted this study and reports on it in *The Neuter Computer: Computers for Girls and Boys*, available from WAA. Jo Sanders also reports that the public media attention to this topic is "staggering". She has gotten hundreds of calls from reporters, from all over the country. Paula Krebs, of *Feminst Teacher* (above), has observed a similar trend, a big jump in numbers of articles and people concerned about the issue just in the last three years.

***The Neuter Computer* documents one very clear answer to the problem of girls' computer avoidance.**

Computer EQUALS: Perhaps the most important Computer Equity program in the country is Computer EQUALS, based in Berkeley CA. EQUALS started in 1977, to address the problem of "math anxiety" in girls and minorities. They specialize in teacher training, and as of this year, have trained 1400 educators in California, and 9000 in 36 other states. They have just received a 3-year $900,000 grant from the National Science Foundation to conduct an intensive program in six California school districts (three of which will be predominantly minority districts) focusing on math education in grades 3 thru 8. The study will involve use of computers and calculators, but it will also explore innovative methods for evaluation, such as having the students keep journals. One of their many excellent publications is *Off and Running*,, a book of off-line activities designed to encourage girls to get their share of computer time when the opportunity arises.

SEX-EQUITY & VOC. ED.: *If sex segregation in vocational education could be eliminated, a large part of the wage gap between men and women would also be eliminated.* Over 70% of females do not go on for post-secondary training, and it is in junior high and high school that they are tracked, or just slide, into the low-paying dead-end female-dominant jobs that account for much of the wage gap.

The 1984 Carl D. Perkin's Vocational Education Act provided much needed revision of the 1976 Voc. Ed. Act, which permitted but did not require states to spend a percentage of their federal funds to end sex segregation in vocational training and education. "Perkins" not only requires states to spend federal money on this purpose, it also specifies the percentage of state voc. ed. grant money to be spent on sex equity. States are also required to ensure that their programs meet the needs of single heads of households, displaced homemakers, disadvantaged and disabled students.

The National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education recently presented their third annual **awards to five states** for exemplary sex equity programs. One award went to New York State, for its Single Parents Project, which targeted AFDC recipients and has set up 14 programs in communities around the state to provide 10 to 20 weeks of individually tailored services including vocational assessment, remedial education, child care, job development and referral, transportation to training sites, counselling and group work, and internships. The program has a strong focus on non-traditional careers and career planning. **Mary Ann Etu, Sex Equity Coordinator for NY estimates that the success rate for this program is about 80% (50 % is considered very good for similar social services).**

Wisconsin is another state with outstanding Sex Equity programs. Other states that got awards from NCFWGE are: Idaho, Maine, Texas and Utah.

A nationwide assessment of the Perkins amendments, which was mandated by the law, is currently underway and should be ready in 1988 or early '89.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN: AAUW has always been active on educational issues, but the pace has quickened under the leadership of Sarah Harder. In 1989, the AAUW national convention will focus on "Early Equity"; AAUW branches in CA, WI, and UT are already taking the lead in working with state sex equity coordinators to set up programs and involve other community-based organizations (CBOs) to support sex equity in education.

CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION ACT: Since the *Grove City* Supreme Court de cision in 1984, which effectively gutted Title IX of the Civil Rights Act and 52 other anti-discrimination statutes, proponents of educational equity have worked for passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act (CRRA, HR 1214, S. 557). CRRA will restore full coverage to Title VI (race discrimination), Title IX (sex discrimination), Section 504 (disability), and the Older Americans Act. Anti-equity forces have tried to stop CRRA by attaching anti-abortion amendments. When CRRA passed both the House and the Senate by wide margins, President Reagan vetoed it. **Finally, on March 22, 1988, Congress overrode the veto** (73-24 in the Senate, 292-133 in the House). CRRA is now law.

ILLITERACY: Official figures (U.S. Census Bureau) give the literacy rate for the U.S. as 99.5%, based on the assumption that anyone who completes fifth grade is functionally literate. Recent studies, principally Jonathan Kozol's *Illiterate America*, suggest that as many as 33% of Americans 18 years old or older are functionally or marginally illiterate. Of these 60 million Americans, about 60 % are women. 16% of whites are illiterate, but the figure jumps to 44% for Blacks and 56% for Latinos. Nevertheless, 2/3 of all illiterates are white. Programs to address the problem are scattered and inadequate. The two largest volunteer tutoring programs together only reach 127,000 clients a year (according to a 1987 study by the Education Commission of the States). Only half of the states have even defined illiteracy. The federal government has taken no effective action to address what is clearly a national crisis.

-- *with help from almost everyone named in this report*, plus my friend Heidi Swarts , who used a day of her vacation time to help me gather data.

RESOURCES:

ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ASSOC. OF COLLEGES, PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN, 1818 R St. NW, Washington DC, 20009. (202) 387-1300. Newsletter: *Equal Opportunity in Higher Education*

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, OFFICE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION, One Dupont Circle, Washington DC 20036. (202) 833-4766.

PROJECT ON EQUAL EDUCATION RIGHTS (PEER) (of NOW LDEF), 1333 H St. NW 11th fl., Washington DC 20005. (202) 682-0940. Monthly newsletter: *Equal Education Alert.*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 2401 Virginia Ave. NW, Washington DC 20037. (202) 785-7700. 1989 Conference: Early Equity.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. (301) 454-3757. Quarterly newsletter.

WOMEN'S ACTION ALLIANCE, 370 Lexington Ave., New York NY 10017. (212) 532-8330

COMPUTER EQUALS, Lawrence Hall of Science, University of California, Berkeley CA 94720. (415) 642-1823.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S HISTORY PROJECT, P.O. Box 3716, Santa Rosa CA 95402. (707) 526-5974.

THE FEMINIST PRESS, at CUNY, 311 East 94th St. New York NY 10129.

SEX EQUITY COORDINATOR FOR NEW YORK STATE: Mary Ann Etu, (518) 473-7892.

PUBLICATIONS:

PEER Computer Equity Reports , & Equity Action Kits; also, annual **PEER Report Card s** - State by State Survey . From PEER, address above.

Off and Running (computer equity for girls) - from Computer EQUALS, above.

The Neuter Computer: Computers for Boys and Girls (1986), from Women's Action Alliance (above).

Feminist Teacher, Paula Krebs, ed., Ballantyne 447, Indiana University, Bloomington IN 47405. (812) 335-3042. Three times a year, by subscription.

Everywoman's Guide to Colleges and Universities (an Educational Project of the Feminist Press), ed. by Florence Howe, Suzanne Howard, and Mary Jo Boehm Strauss. The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, NY, 1982. Dedicated "to Title IX, on its tenth birthday". Rates schools and colleges for their hospitableness (or lack thereof) to women, with ratings on curriculum, support services, faculty, record of dealing with sexual harrassment, tenuring of women, teacher/student ratios, etc. Very basic.

ELECTIVE AND APPOINTIVE OFFICE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:

•increase the number of women in office, including judgeships and policy-making positions •equal membership of men and women serving on all State boards and commissions •equal representation on the delegations to all party conventions, as well as party recruitment of women to run for office •national political parties should create affirmative action offices for women, in particular to improve financial assistance for female delegates and candidates.

MAYBE BY THE YEAR 2000....

The past decades have included many milestones for women in the the quest for political power at all levels. At the highest level of elected office: in 1972, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm campaigned for the Democratic nomination for President, the first woman and the first black ever to do so. The 1984 Presidential race saw US Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro on the Democratic ticket as the first woman to win a major party Vice Presidential nomination. In 1987, US Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder seriously explored a candidacy for President --and her campaign was taken seriously by the national press, her opponents and potential voters. But it might be the year 2000 before we see a woman occupy the White House in her own right.

Although the Federal ERA was lost, after gaining 35 states (three shy of ratification), the degree of organizing and coalition building that pro-ERA groups did resulted in unprecedented numbers of women running for office. In 1982, a large number of women ran for office in the unratified states where the ERA campaign had been most intense. If the ERA had come up for a vote in Illinois and Florida after Nov. 1982, it would have passed. Nine pro-ERA women were elected to the Florida Senate that year, unseating several anti-ERA men. The ERA was "lost" by the whole country, but it was prevented from passing by a handful of white males in a few state legislatures.

In 1987, a National Women's Political Caucus Survey found that "A wide majority of voters believe women are as capable as men in handling the responsibilities of elective offices or that women will do a better job than will men. Even for the office for which voters are *most* willing to express a bias against women, the office of President, 57% of the electorate believe a woman would do as well or better than a man." **The survey also found that voters "prefer candidates endorsed by women's rights groups to candidates opposed by such groups by a margin of 53% to 19%."**

ELECTIVE OFFICE:

The total number of women in elective offices in the U.S. in 1987 is estimated to exceed 18,000. But as that and the following statistics are considered, it is critical to remember not only that many more thousands of women have run for office--in national, state and local primaries and in general elections--since 1977, but also that increasing thousands of women have played and are playing key professional roles as campaign strategists, organizers, managers, and fundraisers. Women have created professional opportunities and taken leadership roles within the political system at all levels -- out front and behind the scenes. Studies by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) have determined that women make a significant difference by helping bring more women into office--through organizations, coalitions and PACs as well as through individual efforts.

US Congress: Women hold 25, or 4.7 %, of the 535 seats --23 in the House (12 Democrats and 11 Republicans) from 17 states; 2 women serve in the US Senate -Barbara Mikulski (D-Maryland) and Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kansas). Any gain at all here is significant, but in 1977 women were already 4%; at the present rate, we will be well into the 22nd Century before women are even *halfway* to parity (25%).

Statewide Elective Executive Offices: Women hold 43, or 14.6 %, of the 295 top executive statewide elective positions in 1987 (does not include women appointed to cabinet level positions, women elected by the legislature or women in the judiciary). In 1977, women held 8% of these positions. Three women serve as governors: Martha Layne Collins (D-Kentucky), Madeleine Kunin (D-Vermont), and Kay A. Orr (R-Nebraska); Orr is the first Republican woman elected governor of any state. Five women serve as Lieutenant Governors: Martha Griffiths (D-MI), Marlene Jonson (D-MN), Harriett Woods (D-MO), Evelyn Murphy (D-MA) and Jo Ann Zimmerman (D-IA).

State Legislatures: 1167, or 15.6 %, of the 7461 state legislators in the United States are women. The number of women serving in state legislatures has almost quadrupled since 1969, when 301, or 4%, were women.

County Government: Since 1975 the number of women at the county level more than doubled, from 456 (3%) 1975, to 1476(8%), in 1984.

Municipal Offices: Among the 100 largest cities in the US, 11 have women mayors, including three of the 10 largest cities: Kathy Whitmire (Houston), Annette Strauss (Dallas), Maureen O'Connor (San Diego). In 1985, in the states where data was available, women held 14,672, or 14.2% , of the 102,329 elective positions at the municipal and township level. The percentage more than tripled from 1975 to 1985, from 4% to 14.3 %.

Black Women: For all these positions combined, black women are 3% of the women and 17% of the black officals. For state legislatures, in 1985, 6.7% of the women were black. There is only one black woman (Cardiss Collins D - IL) in Congress, which makes her 5% of the blacks.

Overall: CAWP estimates that about 4% of all elected officials were women in 1972. Women are now (1986) 15% overall.

APPOINTED POSITIONS:

Presidential appointments: In the Carter Administration, women received 14% of the appontments as of January 1978. Carter was the first President to have two female cabinet members. The Reagan Administration has also had two. Sandra Day O'Connor was appointed to the US Supreme Court in 1981 by Reagan, making her the first woman in U.S. history to hold that position.

Judgeships : According to the most recent data available,7.2% of state court judges are women and 7.4% of federal judges are women.

State level appointments: In mid-1987 women held 17.9% of appointed positions in governor's cabinets; out of a total of 845 appointed state cabinet officials, 151 were women, a substantial increase from 1981 when women were 12.8% of all state cabinet appointees and 1983, when women held 15.1% such positions.

The bare numbers tell part of the story. The other part is told in other CAWP data, such as: 78% of women (94% for black women) in state legislatures are pro-ERA, compared to 51% of men. This gap is also observable among gubernatorial appointees. For women state legislators: 75% belong to at least one major women's organization (AAUW, BPW, LWV, NOW, or NWPC), 54% recieved campaign support from at least one women's organization, 44% worked on women's campaigns before running for office themselves. All of these percentages are higher for black women and lower for county and municipal officials.

The Center for American Women in Politics is doing long term tracking of women in elective office. It was established in 1971, as a research, education and public service unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, at Rutgers. CAWP's inital funding, $50,000 for two years, came from the Ford Foundation. It now has an annual budget of $250,000.

CAWP published the first National Directory of Women in Public Office in 1975 (updated '77, and '81). At their first conference of elected women, in 1972, there were about 50 women, and "elected women" hardly existed as a category for study. Stimulated by the CAWP conference in 1972, California sprouted the first Elected Women's Association in 1974. **Twelve states now have statewide/cross jurisdictional elected women's associations.**

CAWP now manages The National Information Bank of Women in Public Office, which has 18,000 elected women's names in its file. The first National Forum for Elected Women was held in 1983; the second was held in 1987, in San Diego. For information on any of the Elected Women's Associations, contact CAWP.

AT THE GRASSROOTS:

Building strength and numbers throughout the 70's and 80's, women's organizations have become a major factor in national politics: The major activist organizations promoting women in public office are NOW, NWPC, and NPCBW.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is a multi-issue organization, founded in 1966, which in 1987 has a base of over 160,000 members concerned about a long list of issues, roughly paralleling the National Plan of Action for Women. In every part of the country NOW members can be found in political parties and campaigns, sometimes even running for office and winning. NOW has created PACs at every level - in 1986 they had at least 77 federal, state or local PACs.

The National Women's Political Caucus was founded in Washington DC in1971 by a few women who saw the need for an organization that would concentrate on getting more (feminist) women into public office. It has since become a large grassroots organization, with 77,000 members nationwide who work at all levels of politics - fundraising, working in campaigns, and sometimes winning office themselves. NWPC is bi-partisan and supports mostly women for office, but they will back a man if he's right on the issues.

The National Political Congress of Black Women was founded in 1984, in the wake of the Democratic Convention, by Shirley Chisholm, to increase the number of black women delegates at the major party conventions and to field, train, and elect more black women candidates for public office. Though only 3 years old, NPCBW already has chapters in 27 cities and 7200 members nationwide, including the leadership of most of the other black women's groups.

The Fund For the Feminist Majority: In 1987, Eleanor Smeal, under whose leadership NOW became a force to be reckoned with in American politics, has launched a massive "Feminization of Power" national political activism campaign. Called "The Fund for the Feminist Majority", its short-term goal is to double the number of feminist women in the 101st Congress. Long-term, they will be repositioning for the state and Congressional opportunities that the post-1990 census reapportionment will present.

The Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues was formed in April 1977 (95th Congress), with 15 of the 18 women then in the House of Representatives. Elizabeth Holtzman and Margaret Heckler were the first co-chairs. The first executive committee included Barbara Mikulski and Shirley Chisholm and the Caucus was bipartisan from the beginning. In 1981 the Caucus opened its membership to male House members, the same year it began introducing the Economic Equity Act (EEA), which it has done every year since then. In the 97th Congress, the Caucus saw 4 of the EEA bills passed, and since then, 12 more have passed. The Caucus now has 112 members, and is considering opening membership to male Senators. The Caucus is funded entirely by member dues, and has two paid staff. Because they did not have the staff to do research, they founded Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), which just this year published a major report on the status of women in the U.S. (see General Resources, page 15 for full citation). A history of the Caucus is included in *Congressional Women*, by Irwin Hertzog (1984).

All the major official associations (National Conference of Mayors, National League of Cities, National Assoc. of Counties, National Conference of State Legislators, etc.) have women's caucuses or networks. As the number of women in these offices grows, they will increasingly be able to influence the agenda of the national conferences.

WOMEN JUDGES and LAWYERS:

In 1979, the National Association of Women Judges (NAWJ) was founded, with about 100 women judges. It how has 900 members. Partly as a result of NAWJ efforts, judges nationwide have started training programs for new judges which incorporate information on gender and race bias.

The National Conference of Women's Bar Associations formed in 1981, uniting hundreds of women's bar associations, with a combined membership of about 70,000. NCWBA's purpose is to strengthen and support women's bar groups on a local and state level; they distribute information on how to do gender bias studies and effective candidate review. **There is a correlation between the strength of women's bar associations and e.g. the number of women judges in a state, or whether that state passed the ERA.**

In 1983, NCWBA asked their member groups to do local surveys to accumulate evidence of gender bias in the profession, covering not only women lawyers in the corporation and the courtroom, but also women as litigants - their experiences in sentencing, alimony determinations, etc. Task Forces on Gender Bias have formed in New Jersey and New York and are in formation in at least six other states.

FUNDRAISING:

Fundraising for women candidates has also taken a leap forward in the last ten years. In addition to NOW's PACs (federal, state and local), other national feminist PACs are those of Voters for Choice, NARAL, and BPW.

There are two major organizations that are solely concerned with fundraising for women candidates:

The National Women's Campaign Fund was founded in 1974 as an independent PAC for women candidates. It is the oldest and largest of the women's PACs, is bipartisan, and supports women candidates who are progressive (pro-ERA, pro-choice, etc.). In 1986, they distributed $450,000 (cash and technical services) to 118 candidates in local, state, and national races in 31 states.

EMILY's List (Early Money Is Like Yeast - it raises the dough!) was organized in 1985 as a donor network whose members agree to give $300 or more to women candidates (Democrats only) chosen by EMILY in any given election cycle. Candidates must be pro-ERA and pro-choice and complete a questionnaire on their other positions so that EL can develop a profile of them to distribute to the network. In 1986, with 1200 donors, Emily's List channeled $200,000 to Harriet Woods (Missouri) and $150,000 to Barbara Mikulski (Maryland), both running for Senate. They have about 1400 donors now, are aiming for 1800 by 1988, and expect to support 5 or 6 candidates for the Senate in 1988.

The Gender Gap: No account of the past decade for women and politics would be complete without some mention of the "gender gap". The gender gap was discovered by NOW, in 1981, when the leadership was sitting around mulling over exit poll data from the 1980 elections. Suddenly it became clear: women voted for Carter about 8% more than men did. The gap was up to 15% among college graduates.

The gender gap varies depending on how clearly differentiated the candidates are on several issues, particularly Peace and the ERA, and with demographic factors such as ethnicity, age, and education. 8% is more than enough to swing an election, and women (and blacks) can be credited with turning the Senate over to the Democrats in 1986. Exit poll data from the '86 Senate elections show that the gender gap created the winning margin in nine races, including those of Adams (D-WA), Wirth (D-CO), and Fowler (D-GA). The gender gap is likely to become an enduring feature of American politics, as more women than men are registering to vote, and more and more women become active at all levels of politics.

-- Becky Burdick and Susanna Downie, with help from Kathy Kleeman and Ruth Mandel (CAWP), Ellen Malcolm (Emily's List), Kathryn Larson (Hardworking Women Project), Helen Seager (NWCF), Laurie Loeb (Congressional Women's Caucus), Loretta Ross (NOW), Charlene Snow (Women Lawyer's Assoc. of Michigan), and Mim Kelber (co-author, with Bella Abzug, of *The Gender Gap* (Houghton Mifflin, 1984).

RESOURCES:

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND, 1725 Eye St. NW Ste. 515, Washington DC 20006 (202) 638-3900

EMILY'S LIST, 2000 P St. NW, Washington DC 20036, (202) 887-5697.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS, 1411 K St. NW, Washington DC 20005. (202) 898-1100

NATIONAL POLITICAL CONGRESS OF BLACK WOMEN, PO Box 411, Rancocas, NJ 08073. (609) 871-5128. Contact: Portia Dempsey.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN, 1401 New York Ave. NW Ste. 800, Washington DC 20005-2102, (202) 347-2279.

CENTER FOR AMERICAN WOMEN AND POLITICS, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers - State Univ. of Jew Jersey, New Brunswick NJ, 08901, (201) 932-9384.

THE FUND FOR THE FEMINIST MAJORITY, 8105 West Third St., Los Angeles, CA 90048 (213) 651-0495.

CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS ON WOMEN'S ISSUES, 2471 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Washington DC 20515. (202) 225-6740.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATIONS, 113 West Franklin St., Baltimore MD 21201. (301) 752-3316.

EMPLOYMENT

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

• a national policy of full employment • enforcement of all laws, executive orders and regulations prohibiting employment discrimination • improve funding for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission • federal legislation to provide equal pay for work of equal value • equitable representation of women at all management levels of Federal agencies • all Federal women employees in Grades 11 thru 15 should be made eligible for managerial positions • apprenticeship programs, especially those for "non-traditional" jobs should open up to women of all racial and ethnic origins • English-language programs specially designed for working women whose primary language is not English

• amend Veteran's Preference Act of 1944 so that veteran's preference is used on a one-time-only basis

• prohibit discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions • enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act as they apply to household workers

• flex-time and pro-rated benefits for part-time workers • Statistics collected by the Federal government should enable assessment of impact of Federal programs on women and participation of women in the administration of such programs.

SOME BASIC FACTS:

• 77% of women workers are still in female-intensive occupations, which are at the lowest end of the pay scale (1985).

• Since 1964 there have been no new federal laws mandating solutions to sex- or race- based wage discrimination, and only lax or nill enforcement of the 1964 Equal Pay Act.

• The wage gap is alive and well, recent media reports to the contrary notwithstanding. The ratio of women's wages compared to men's is now about 64%, up only 4% since 1960, and just about equal to what it was in 1955. The 70% figure reported (1987) by the Census Bureau was re-examined by the National Committee on Pay Equity and found to be partly due to a decline in men's wages, and partly a function of younger women's entry into non-female-dominant fields. For older women in the pink collar ghettos, the ratio is still 60%. For women aged 21-29 with four years of college it's 86%.

• Government agencies charged with oversight and enforcement of civil rights laws and affirmative action programs have deteriorated: specifically, under the Reagan administration, the Department of Justice, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have all taken positions opposing affirmative action, pay equity, and other concrete remedies to sex and race discrimination in employment.

• But according to a National Committee on Pay Equity report (1986), over 1500 local and state governments have taken steps to identify or eliminate race or sex bias in the wages of their own employees. This includes 14 states that have begun to implement comparable worth pay equity, and 32 states are conducting research on their pay systems prior to implementation. Cities that have equalized their pay systems include Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago, Green Bay, Ann Arbor, and Butlington VT.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZING:

There has been so much organizing in so many different sectors around employment issues that a comprehensive account of progress or lack of it on the issues identified in the National Plan would take a book all in itself. But the recent merger of Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) with the National Commission on Working Women (NCWW) is as good a place as any to begin.

WOW is one of the pioneer organizations in women's employment. WOW got started in 1964, in Washington DC, after passage of the Equal Pay Act, as a volunteer, self-help women's employment group with no budget and no staff. They began offering job counselling, skills evaluation, and job hunting workshops for women, and opened a talent bank for employers. By 1974, they were serving over 1400 women a month and women were entering the work force in record numbers. By 1972, other women in every region of the country were starting job evaluation and counselling programs for women.

WOW thus became a model for women's employment programs all over the United States. In 1977, **WOW pulled together a network of these groups, and today the Women's Work Force Network consists of over 200 programs in 38 states, serving a total of 300,000 women each year.** The WWN is allied with, and there is some overlap with, the Displaced Homemakers Network (see *Homemakers*). WOW continues to provide training for non-traditional employment to 250 Washington area women annually.

The National Commission on Working Women was created in 1977, by Willard Wirtz (Sec. of Labor under Kennedy) and Elizabeth Koontz (Dept. of Labor), to focus on the needs and concerns of "the 80%" -- the women in the workforce who are concentrated in low-paying, low-status jobs (service, retail sales, clerical, and industrial), and who are mostly not yet unionized. NCWW began collecting data, and did a major national survey, published in June 1979, assessing the working conditions of the 80% (wages and benefits, child care, education and training for promotion). **In 1987, NCWW and WOW merged, and together are one of the best sources for Fact Sheets and information on women's employment issues, as well as being a dynamic force for change.**

The Coalition of Labor Union Women was founded in 1974, to "organize the unorganized", increase women's participation in their unions, and generally advocate for affirmative action and women's political and legislative activity. CLUW started with about 3000 women at their founding conference in Chicago, and today their membership is over 18,000, representing 65 different unions. CLUW was one of the leadership organizations in the founding of the National Committe on Pay Equity (1976), and ERAmerica (1976), and was the first national organization to move its convention site out of an unratified state. They also had *something* to do with the AFL-CIO's endorsement of the ERA (1975).

CLUW has a long list of publications on union women's issues, including representation in union leadership, contract language, hospital workers, occupational health issues, and child care, family & work issues. CLUW lobbyists are active on all these issues, plus minimum wage and labor law reform. Unions which have a high percentage of women members and/or are particularly good on on women's issues are: AFSCME, SEIU, Communication Workers of America, both teacher's unions (AFT and NEA), ILGWU, United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, Electrical Workers (IUE), Food and Commercial Workers, and the Newspaper Guild.

9 to 5, The National Association of Working Women, started organizing in 1973, in Boston MA. The idea of an organization for office workers spread to other cities around the country and the group became national in 1978. Membership has grown from 50 in 1973, to 14,000 today.

9 to 5 itself is not a union. In 1981, they helped establish District 925, along with Service Employees International, of the AFL/CIO, as a formal union for office workers. District 925 and 9 to 5 still work together, and the President of District 925 is also Executive Director of 9 to 5, but the organizations have separate budgets and staffs. Clerical workers number about 15 million (1986), of which 15.3% are covered by union contracts. Male clerical workers (about 18% of all clericals), make 30% more than females, even when their job category is exactly the same. 23% of male and 15% of female clericals are unionized. Clerical work is still the largest single category of women workers.

9to5's estimates that it has counseled over 1 million individuals on legal rights and job problems, and have been insturmental in winning a total of $25 million in back pay and pay equity raises for working women (and men). 9to5 was one of the first organizations to attend to Video Display Terminal (VDT) hazards. On the ergonomic issues, at least at the level of attitude, set-up of the work place is now seen, even by managers, as a serious issue. But many large employers have not made any beneficial changes in the working conditions of their employees. Time for breaks is still scarce but more needed than ever with so much concentrated, and increasingly computer monitored, work at VDTs.

Increase in productivity has not been compensated with increase in pay or better conditions. Instead, many employers have increased use of part-time and temporary workers to avoid payment of benefits, to downgrade jobs, and cut base pay. Between 1970 and 1987, the Labor force increased by 39%. Part-Time workers increased by 63% (from 12 million to 19 million) but full-time workers increased only 35.6% (Bureau of Labor statistics). Increasing automation, and coming shifts in the clerical field, will make VDT health issues even more important (for more on VDT and health, see Occupational Health, below).

Unionization is of clear benefit to workers who have no structural power, and no opportunity for advancement via higher education or training. Salaries of unionised workers are on average 25% higher than wages of comparable non-unionised workers. Unionized clerical workers earn an average 39% more than non-unionized peers. Although the National Labor Relations Act long ago (1935) established the rights of workers to unionize, a Congressional Labor-Management Relations Report (1984) found that workers who openly favor or promote unionization are subject to intimidation, reprisals, and job loss, with little protection; and union-busting and union-bashing have become fair sport for management in the "pro-business" environment created by the Reagan Presidency. The anti-union atmosphere has worsened since 1980 and has made unionization of clerical workers and other female-dominated sectors of the workforce even harder than it was before.

Federally Employed Women (FEW) got its start in the summer of 1968 at a course, for middle and upper level women executives in the government, given by Helen Dudley. The course was part of a response by women in the federal government to Civil Rights legislation in 1967 granting sex equity the same status as other forms of discrimination in the federal service. About 16 women from that group decided there was a need for an organization to work to end sex discrimination in federal employment, to improve the merit system, and enhance women's opportunities for advancement in government. At its peak, FEW had about 8000 members and several hundred chapters, and though the atmosphere in recent years has not been especially favorable to women's organizing, FEW still has over 200 chapters in 46 states and 5 foreign countries.

FEW works primarily in the areas of training (holding an annual training conference open to all federally empoyed women), and legislation (on such issues as pay equity, civil rights, child care, parental leave, women in the military, and ERA). **In 1987, FEW did a study of the employment of women in the Federal government and other issues defined by the Plan. Some highlights follow (all figures given here apply to the federal labor force only):**

- Women went from 34% of the full time workers in 1977, to 40% in 1986.
- 41% of women workers are in clerical work.
- Women are now 86% (up from 84% in 1977) of clerical employees, but only 27% (up from 20% in 1977) of Professional employees. The percentage of attorneys who are women has doubled (from 13.8% in 1977 to 27% in 1986).
- The other major areas of increase (between 1977

and 1986) for women occurred in Personnel Management (36% to 50%), Personnel Staffing (58% to 70%), and Contract Procurement (30% to 50%).

- Since 1981, many departments have merged EEO and Personnel functions, with the result of downgrading the EEO position (often held by a woman) and adding personnel work to her job. Thus the increase in women as Personnel Managers has come at the expense of EEO.
- Average salary for women (1986) was $21,190 per year, compared to men's $30,590 per year. In the Professional category, white women make 62% of what men make, and minority women make 58%.
- **The relative positions (1986), by average grade level, of employees of different races and sexes exactly mirrors that in the general labor force:** White males on top (av. GS 10.0), followed by Hispanic males (GS 8.3), Black males (GS 7.6), White females (GS 6.0), Black females (GS 5.9), and Hispanic females (GS 5.6). These averages have not changed significantly since 1980. (Note: Grade level determines salary, higher grade level equals higher salary and status.)
- **Women comprise only 7% of Senior Executive and Grade 16-18 positions (up from 3.4% in 1977).** The rate of women appointed to top level positions has declined, with women holding less than 1% of level 13-14 wage grade jobs: from January '81 to April '83, only 24 out of 287 Presidential appointees were women.
- **The federal government has yet to enact a bill introduced by Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH) in 1986 to undertake a pay equity study of federal employees.** Support for the measure is high in both houses, however, and proponents of the bill expect it to pass, perhaps in 1988.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH: Secretarial work is now recognized by occupational health specialists to be one of the most stressful job categories, due to a combination of high productivity demand and low control over how the job is done. Machine-paced workers are 70%-200% more likely to develop heart disease or other stress-related disorders than are low-level managerial workers. Other female intensive job categories that involve high stress working conditions are: waitress, salesclerk, telephone operator, cashier, and garment stitcher.

Since 1977, a new threat of particular concern to women has emerged: VDT (Video Display Terminal) hazards. There are already over 28 million VDTs in use in the U.S., and that figure is expected to reach 40 million in a few years. VDT hazards include eye problems, muscle strain and pain leading to inflammatory and degenerative disorders, and stress arising from increased productivity demands and computer monitoring. VDT users in general report a higher incidence of headaches, insomnia, fatigue and tension than non-users.

Pregnancy problems, including miscarriage and stillbirth, have been reported among clusters of VDT users in the U.S., Canada, and Europe. Though the connection between VDT use and pregnancy problems has been dismissed by the WHO and the AMA, researchers in both Sweden and Spain have found abnormalities in both chick embryos and pregnant mice exposed to VDT-type radiation. In May 1987, The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) began a study of reproductive risks among VDT users.

The Women's Occupational Health Resource Center was founded in 1978, by Dr. Jeanne Stellman, its current Director, to document and increase awareness of the health issues and needs of women workers. WOHRC has a newsletter that carries current information, and an extensive list of fact sheets and publications on special risks to women in clerical work, health care, textile and clothing work, hairdressers, agricultural workers, and other occupations involving exposure to hazardous chemicals or radiation; publications also include information on government and industrial regulations and practices, how to spot health hazards, and practical suggestions for dealing with them. Members of WOHRC's network of over 200 occupational health specialists nationwide are available for lectures or programs on women's occupational health hazards.

PREGNANCY DISABILITY: In October 1978, Congress amended Title VII (PL 95-555) to include discrimination based on pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions under the definition of what constitutes unlawful sex discrimination in employment. The law does not require employers to provide special benefits for pregnancy, it simply specifies that pregnancy is to be treated like any other temporary disability. The Pregnancy Disability Act, as PL 95-555 is called, was designed to undo the precedent set by the Supreme Court in *Gilbert v. General Electric* (1976), in which the court held that the employer's failure to include pregnancy in its sick leave policy did not constitute sex discrimination because if men got pregnant they would be excluded too!

Nevertheless, in 1986 the Supreme Court reaffirmed PL 95-555 and upheld a California law that requires employers to provide a 4-month period of unpaid leave for physical disability due to pregnancy (*Cal Fed v. Guerra*). The Parental and Medical Leave Act, now pending in Congress (early 1988), would go beyond PL 95-555 and require all employers to provide up to 10 weeks of unpaid leave for pregnancy.

The United States is the only industrialized nation without a national job-protecting maternity leave policy. With 44% of the labor force being women, and that percentage expected to increase, and 80% of women expected to become pregnant at least once during their prime child-bearing years, which are also their prime working years, it is time for the U.S. to grow out of its barbaric attitudes toward maternity. The Parental and Medical Leave Act would bring the US up to the standards set by our more civilized allies in the family of nations.

THE BOARDROOM AND THE EXECUTIVE SUITE:

With the "glass ceiling" firmly in place, women still face subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) barriers as they move up, but there has been some progress toward sex integration at the upper levels of employment. **Catalyst, Inc.** reports (December, 1987) that 395 women held 576 directorships in 1986, at 44% of the top 1000 corporations. In 1977, there were only 204 women directors, at about 18% of the top 1000. 116 corporations now have more than one woman diretor. But overall, women hold less than 5% of available directorships at the top 1000 companies. And women's entry into the boardroom has been much easier than their movement into top management.

Women executives are now sufficiently numerous, however, to make breakthroughs into top management just a matter of time. Meanwhile, they are organizing to share information and strategies for getting ahead. There are several national networks- the most striking of these organizations, one which spans the decade and is the least elitist, is **The National Association for Female Executives, Inc.**. NAFE was founded in 1972, by Wendy Rue, who believed that financial independence was the only way women would ever achieve "true equality". The 1000+ members enrolled by 1977 were listed on index cards and kept in a shoebox. But the publications and membership benefits of NAFE emphasized women's power to accomplish their career goals, helped them define those goals, and generally took a demystifying approach to money and power. In 1978, NAFE began large national mailings to build membership, which grew to 40,000 by the end of 1979. Rejecting the idea of a "cookie-cutter" style of organization, with identically-structured chapters and bylaws dominated by a national HQ, NAFE opened up the organizing process to whoever was willing to pull together a network in her area, got 900 volunteers in 1979 alone, and today NAFE's national membership is organized in a free-wheeling assortment of local affiliates organized along whatever lines the local women have chosen, including groups of artists, and single mothers. NAFE has had an explosive growth in membership in the last few years, and now has over 200,000 women executives, including a few men, who have joined just to "keep up with the competition". BoL statistics show that only 1.4% of full time women workers earn over $50,000. NAFE reckons that 20,000 of those women are NAFE members (10% of their membership).

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR GETS NOT ONLY A WOMAN HEAD, BUT A LIVELY PROPONENT OF A NATIONAL CHILD CARE POLICY/PROGRAM

Another sign that even in a distinctly non-feminist administration women can be perceived as an important political constituency is the appointment of Ann Dore McLaughlin, as Secretary of Labor, in December, 1987. According to *Ms.* (March 88), there was "vigorous behind-the-scenes lobbying to have at least one woman in the cabinet [by] election year 1988". Ms. McLaughlin is considered a "right-of-center" Republican, but in her third day in office she created a high-level task force to report to her on child care, and she is positioning herself to create a viable compromise on the issue, which is shaping up as a major battle in the 100th Congress. Bills range from a proposal by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) for an $875 million/3-year child care program to the much more comprehensive (and expensive - $2.5 billion) ABC legislation backed by at least 171 congresspersons, including Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) (see *Child Care*, for details on ABC). Ms. McLaughlin is also reported to have sent "over my dead body signals" in response to rumors that Attorney General Meese might be preparing for another assault on affirmative action.

WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY: **The Association for the Democratic Workplace** started out in 1980 as Worker's Trust. In 1987, when they changed their name, they had 600 organizational members (democratically run workplaces, many of them co-ops) and 4000 individual members, 80% of whom are women. Their pension plan, health plan, and term life insurance, which are offered to both types of members, have unisex rates, and the health plan covers maternity care and alternative health modalities. ADW also publishes materials for organizing democratically run businesses, whether worker-owned or not, and whether non-profit or not.

RE: Social Security for Household Workers - see *Homemakers* .

RE: Statistics - see *Statistics* .

-- *with help from a list of people so long and so varied that there is not enough space to list them here, but there's at least one of them in every office listed below.*

RESOURCES:

National Committee on Pay Equity, 1201 16th St. NW Rm. 422, Washington DC 20036. (202) 822-7304.

Wider Opportunities for Women/National Commission on Working Women (WOW/NCWW) 1325 G St. NW Lower Level, Washington DC 20005. (202) 737-5764. Full range of fact sheets on the issues, and other literature; also a tape library of the winners of the annual (since 1979) Women at Work Broadcast Awards Program - subjects include child care, two-career families, non-traditional employment, workplace organizing. Tapes are available for rent.

Federally Employed Women, 1400 Eye St. NW, Suite 425, Washington DC 20005. (202) 898-0994. Report: *The Advancement of Women in the Federal Government - A Progress Report.* by Chris deVries. 24 pages.

Women's Legal Defense Fund , 2000 P St. NW, Suite 400, Washington DC 20036. (202)887-0364. Packet on parental leave, maternity leave, data on pregnancy discrimination.

9 to 5, The National Association of Working Women, 614 Superior Ave. NW, Cleveland OH 44113. (216) 566-9308. Fact sheets, an "Office Supplies" publications list, including ***9 to 5, The Working Woman's Guide to Office Survival*** , by Ellen Cassedy and Karen Nussbaum, founders of 9 to 5 (173 pp.).

Women's Occupational Health Resource Center, 117 St. John's Place, Brooklyn NY 11217. (718) 230-8822. Dr. Jeanne Stellman, Director.

National Association for Female Executives, Inc., 1041 3rd Ave., New York, NY 10021. (212) 371-0740.

Coalition of Labor Union Women, 15 Union Sq., New York NY 10003. (212) 242-0700.

Association for the Democratic Workplace, 1400 High St. Suite A, Eugene OR 97401. (503 683-8184. Contact: Ms. Garry Oldham.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

NATIONAL PLAN GOAL:

•Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which reads in full:

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

Brief Overview:

The first campaign to ratify the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the ERA, ended on June 30, 1982. The Amendment fell three states short of the 38 required for ratification.

The ERA was reintroduced with the same wording in the 98th Congress but was defeated in the House on Nov. 13, 1983 by six votes. It was again reintroduced in both the 99th and 100th Congresses but there were not sufficient votes for passage in either house.

Current Congressional Situation:

Currently (1988), both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees are headed by strongly pro-ERA Chairs, with a balance of votes in the committees to pass out this legislation. However, proponents will not push for action on the ERA until there are sufficient votes to forestall the attempt to attach non-germane amendments, particularly an anti-abortion provision, such as was recently added to the Civil Rights Restoration Act (see *Education*).

For an analysis of the "strong connection" between abortion votes and ERA votes in the 1984 Congress and the importance of the 1988 elections on equal rights for women, contact *The Woman Activist* (see Resources, below).

According to a 1987 survey conducted by the National Women's Party, there are 217 pro-ERA votes in the House, with 73 additional votes needed for passage. **In the Senate, only 2 more votes are needed for the 67 required,** and these are considered obtainable from Senators now listed as "undecided" or "reconsidering" their former opposition.

Why we need the ERA:

The necessity for passage of the ERA was made abundantly clear to the American people during the Congressional hearings (in 1987) on the confirmation of Judge Robert Bork as nominee to the Supreme Court. The defeat of this nomination was a victory for ERA proponents. Bork's strict constructionist "standard of reasonableness" interpretation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment would not have afforded protection to women as "persons" included in this amendment. Anti-discrimination laws would thus have been construed very narrowly by Bork had he become a Supreme Court justice, with disastrous results to women lacking the protection of the ERA.

Similarly, the necessity of the prolonged battle to restore Civil Rights, lost in the *Grove City* decision (1984), would not have been necessary had the ERA been part of the Constitution.

Public Opinion is More Favorable Than Ever:

A May, 1987, *New York Times* / CBS poll indicates that 75% of Americans support the ERA, an increase of 21% from similar polls taken in 1982, when the first ratification campaign was ending.

Women's Organizing:

In 1987 during the Bicentennial Celebration of the U.S.Constitution, the National Organization for Women and other groups staged demonstrations, marches, and protests to call attention to the continued exclusion of women from the Constitution.

"It's time for our Constitution to fulfill the promise of 'We the People... All men.... All women'," said long-time ERA activist Eleanor Smeal, Past President of NOW and founder of the Fund for a Feminist Majority, in a speech to the National Press Club in 1987: **"We simply *must* win a Consitutional Guarantee of Equal Rights for Women... so fundamental, so clear, that no Court, no Congress, no President can ever again abridge it."**

Gearing Up for the Next Battle:

The 1988 election of a pro-ERA President will be crucial to passage of the ERA by the next Congress. **The National Women's Conference Committee** has encouraged its affiliated networks to bring pressure to bear on leaders of both political parties to restore ERA to a top priority position in party platforms.

NOW is making ERA an election issue with candidates and at the national party conventions. NOW President Molly Yard says: "We're launching a major 1988 election drive seeking thousands of citizen co-sponsors for the ERA. We are following the candidates to raise the issues of the ERA everywhere and we will publicize the non-supporting members of Congress -- those who dont support the ERA."

NOW's National Citizen Co-Sponsorship Petition Drive, launched in January '88, will culminate in a mass demonstration in Washington DC on June 30th with presentation of petitions to Congressional leaders. (Petitions are available from the NOW Action Center, 1401 New York Ave. #800, Washington DC 20005 (202) 347-2279).

Once the ERA has been passed by Congress, it will go to the State Legislatures, where it must be ratified by 3/4 of them in order to become law. To prepare for the battle in the states, NWCC is promoting the growth of state coalitions and networks to renew grassroots advocacy for the ERA. On November 21, 1987, during the "Spirit of Houston" ERA luncheon in Washington DC, the NWCC honored six State ERA Coalitions for more than a decade of legislative and educational activity in support of this issue. These coalitions have since formed an **ERA Interstate Network** to share strategies and materials and serve as models for the formation of ERA groups in additional states. For more information about ERA Interstate, see "ERA Networks", below.

"NO!" to arbitrary deadlines:

To assure that women win ratification of the ERA this time around, Congressional sponsors must avoid the compromise made with the opposition in 1972 that resulted in the attachment of an arbitrary deadline for ratification. Deadlines for ratification are not necessary; Congress can let the amendment take its time, or, if they do attach a deadline, they can make it as long (or as short) as they want. Dr. Alice Paul predicted, correctly, that the 7-year deadline attached to the ERA in 1972 would result in its defeat. Even with the three year extension won in 1978, the ten year period was not long enough to ride out shifting winds of opposition. Therefore, this time around, proponents of the ERA must work to keep the new legislation clear of crippling compromises, or , if imposition of a deadline seems inevitable, we must work to see that we have as much time as possible for passage.

-- Allie Hixson and Dixie Lee Riley

RESOURCES:

ERA NETWORKS:

Multistate:

ERA Interstate Network. Contact: Mary Reljic, 404 Brittany Lane, Lindenhurst IL 60046. (312) 356-3379.

State:

ERA Illinois. P.O. Box 131, Lockport IL 60441. Irene Blatnik, Pres.: (815) 838-1250.

Kentucky Pro-ERA Alliance. Route 5, Box 502, Greensburg KY 42743. Allie Hixson, Chair: (502) 932-7216.

Virginia ERA Ratification Council. 6 North 5th St., Richmond VA 23219. Pat Fishback, Chair: (804) 643-1593.

Minnesota Equal Rights Alliance. 316 W. University Ave., St. Paul MN 55103. (612) 228-0338. Contact: Dixie Lee Riley (612) 348-5743.

Michigan ERAmerica. 15511 Oak Drive, Livonia MI 48154. Laura Callow, Chair. (313) 425-3572.

Vermont ERA. Smith Road, Shoreham, VT 05770. Sigrid Thor, Chair. (802) 897-2630.

PUBLICATIONS

The ERA Facts and Action Guide, by Riane Eisler and Allie Hixson. 1986. Published by the National Women's Conference Center. Order from: NWCC, % Allie Hixson, Route 5, Box 502, Greensburg KY 42743.

Two Hundred Years Overdue, a videotape about the ERA, by the Minnesota Equal Rights Alliance, $25, order from MERA, 316 W. University Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota 55103.

Equal Rights, the newsletter of The National Women's Party, 144 Constitution Ave. NE, Washington DC 20002. Elizabeth Chittick, Pres.

National NOW Times, bi-monthly newspaper to membership of NOW, contact: The National NOW Action Center, 1401 New York Ave. NW, Washington DC 20005. Molly Yard, Pres.

The Woman Activist, 2310 Barbour Rd., Falls Church VA 22043. Flora Crater, Founder and Editor. Carries regular updates on action in Congress, including voting records.

Women's Times, Washington News Service, Inc. P.O. Box 39113, Washington DC 20016. Christine Evers, Ed. Biweekly, covers Congressional and Federal action/legislation on all major women's issues.

HEALTH

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•a national health security program, with coverage for women as individuals •benefits should include: preventive health service, family planning services, reproductive health care (and more) •license qualified midwives and nurse practitioners as independent health specialists, who can be directly reimbursed by health insurance providers •patient's bill of rights •expand authority of Food and Drug Administration to: require testing of all drugs, devices and cosmetics by independent laboratories, extend test periods beyond one year or 18 months, enable immediate recall of hazardous or ineffective drugs, require the reporting of significant adverse reactions noted by physicians •increase research on safe, alternative forms of contraception, particularly male contraception •additional funds for alcohol and drug abuse research and treatment programs for women •fair representation of women on all Federal, State and private health policy and planning bodies •public funds for a network of community based, low cost reproductive health services •investigation of conditions in nursing homes and mental institutions plus federally mandated standards of care •health professions schools develop non-sexist curricula •investigation of increase in C-sections, hysterectomies, mastectomies, and forced sterilizations.

SOME BASIC FACTS:

• **The U.S. and South Africa are now the only major industrialized nations which do not provide some form of universally available health insurance.** An estimated 37 million Americans have little or no health insurance, and non- whites, women, the elderly and the poor are disproportionately represented among the uninsured. A 1984 ABC national poll found that 75% of those polled favored a national health insurance program.

• **15 years ago Canada introduced a universal government-funded health insurance program. Since then, the proportion of Canada's GNP going to health care has dropped, while the equivalent figure has sharply increased in the U.S.** Canada's program is sufficiently popular, with both the public and doctors, that conservative politicians have been unable to kill it. Age-adjusted mortality rates in Canada have also declined sharply relative to the U.S. in the the same time period.

• Though 12% of GNP in the U.S. is spent annually for health care, the U.S. has high rates for infant mortality, cancer deaths, and cardiovascular deaths relative to comparably industrialized nations, and we are 15th (from the top) in life expectancy.

• In 1986, Medicare paid for approximately 44% of health care expenditures for elderly married couples, but only 33% for elderly single women.

• In 1983, lung cancer began to surpass breast cancer as the leading cause of death among women. Women who smoke are five times more likely to develop lung cancer than non-smoking women.

PUBLIC HEALTH INSURANCE BREAKTHROUGH:

After years of organizing and lobbying by a coalition of hundreds of community groups, led by the Gray Panthers of Greater Boston, the state of Massachusetts has passed the first law in the country guaranteeing health insurance to all residents of the state. The program has been envisaged from the beginning as a model for the rest of the country, and was signed into law by Governor Dukakis in April 1988. Under the measure, no one would go uninsured, but individuals will be required to pay 25 to 30 % of the cost of their insurance, depending on their income. People unable to obtain insurance through their employers will get it from a state-administered pool called the Health Security Trust Fund. The bill emphasizes preventive and community health programs, and is structured to work with existing services, facilities and reimbursment systems. Estimates put the cost to the state at $622 million over the first four years.

MIDWIFERY RESURGENCE:

90% of the world's babies are delivered by midwives. The suppression of midwives by the medical establishment in the U.S. was a continuation of similar repression in Europe which started in the late 15th century. The battle in the U.S. was particularly fierce in the 1900's, and by 1932 the number of midwife-attended births nationwide was about 12%, down from 50% in 1900. By 1950, midwives were virtually eliminated, except for a few practicing in rural areas.

The resurgence of midwifery has been helped by the New Age movements in health practices (wholistic and preventive health), the women's movement, and the consumer advocacy movement. In 1971 a birth center was opened in Santa Cruz CA by Raven Lang and seven other midwives. Throughout the 70's, midwives and nurse practitioners all over the country who had begun to attend births were being arrested, harassed, and forced into legal battles. Nevertheless, state licensing for Certified Nurse-Midwives has gradually become available since the late 70's. 21 states have adopted licensure regulations, and 16 states have regulations in draft.

Free standing birth centers have been very successful. In 1983, there were 80 of these operating nationwide; as of 1987, there are 150. In 1981, they formed the National Association of Childbearing

Centers. There are currently about 3300 Certified Nurse-Midwives (20 of whom are male) practicing in the U.S. (1987). There are also an estimated 1000 non-nurse (lay) midwives (with training in midwifery but no nursing degree). In 1975, midwives attended .9% of all births. By 1985, it was 2.7%, and in 1986 it was 4% (about 100,000 births). The book that remains the basic text for the movement is *Immaculate Deception*, by Suzanne Arms (Bantam, 1977).

CAESAREAN DELIVERY

The C-Sec (Caesarean Section) rate is still rising nationwide. The national rate is now 24.1% (1987), up from 22% in1986, and 5.8% in 1971. In some hospitals (primarily teaching hospitals) the C-Sec rate is more than 33%, and for some doctors it is over 50%. Women under 20 and over 30 are more likely to undergo Caesareans.

Half of all women having C-Secs suffer complications, and the maternal mortality rate for C-Sec delivery is 4 times that for vaginal delivery. According to a study by Public Citizen Research Group (reported in *NYT*, 11/3/87) half of all Caesareans now performed in the U.S. are unnecessary. The same study predicted that the C-Sec rate could increase to 40% of all births by the year 2000 if nothing is done to stop the increase. The major factor in the increasing C-Sec rate is the prejudice among doctors for routine repeat Caesareans; the U.S. and Canada are the only countries in the world where this is common practice. VBAC (Vaginal Birth After Caesarean) is safer for both mother and child than repeat Caesarean, but in 1985, less than 7% of previously Caesarean deliveries were VBACs.

Caesarean Prevention Movement International (CPM) has 62 chapters and 1500 members in the U.S., and is organized in 7 other countries. Most of the members are women who have had Caesareans. CPM was founded in 1982 to call attention to the problem of unnecessary C-Secs, to educate women about healthy birthing procedures, and to provide support for women who want VBACs. Esther Zorn, founder and president of CPM, feels that as long as women have no tradition of woman-centered birthing practices, and doctors have a preference for keeping control in their own hands and using high-tech drugs and interventions in a routine way, the C-Sec rate will not drop. CPM's Childbirth Education program, Birthworks, teaches women to have confidence in their ability to give birth, to take responsibility for the process, and to make educated judgements about available methods and technologies for assisting birth. CPM also publishes fact sheets, a newsletter (the *Clarion*), and is presently creating a consumer-oriented data-base on VBACs. The principal text for the C-Sec/VBAC issue is *Silent Knife: Caesarean Prevention and Vaginal Birth After Caesarean*, by Nancy Cohen and Lois Estner (1983).

HYSTERECTOMY:

62% of all adult women today will have had a hysterectomy or oophorectomy (removal of ovaries) by the time they are 70. Although most hysterectomies are elective, an estimated 30 to 50% of these operations are unnecessary. The U.S. has twice the hysterectomy rate of England and Sweden. Doctor's wives have proportionately more than any other group. The rate for younger women has been rising. In 1980, half of the 649,000 hysterectomies were done on women under 45. Hysterectomies occur far less frequently under prepaid insurance plans (such as HMOs) than under indemnity plans (such as Blue Shield). The death rate from this operation is high: 1.5 per 1000. Hysterectomy has ten times the complication rate of tubal ligation, and 40 to 50% of hysterectomies result in complications.

WOMEN AND ALCOHOL:

There are an estimated 30 million alcoholics today in the U.S., of which 10 to 15 million are women. Until very recently, nearly all studies of effects of alcohol or effectiveness of treatment programs have been done on men. But recent evidence suggests that alcohol is more harmful to women than to men. Women are more likely to develop liver damage, with a lower dosage level, and more likely to die once the liver has been damaged, than men. Black women are six times more likely than white women to develop cirrhosis and for Native American women the rate is 36 times that of white women. Women who are heavy drinkers have more gynecological problems and even if they are only moderate drinkers they are at greater risk for cancer. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome is the third leading cause of birth defects and the only preventable one of the top three. Suicide attempts are more frequent among alcoholic women than among the female population as a whole or alcoholic men. The number of teenage girls who drink has been increasing faster than the number of teenage boys.

Alcohol is a factor in 50% of all rapes, 50% of spouse abuse cases, 70% of child sexual abuse cases, and 40% of family court actions.

Much of the above information is the result of research by women doctors and professionals in the alcohol rehabilitation field, who have seen first hand both the destructive effects of alcohol on women and the gross inadequacy of male-oriented treatment programs for dealing with women, particularly those with young children.

Feminist alcohol "rehab" counselors and others concerned with the issues have organized **State Task Forces on Women and Alcohol,** coordinated by the **National Women's Congress on Alcohol and Drug Problems.** Most of the public funding for rehabiliation comes through the states. **Women for Sobriety** is a national network of local self-help groups for recovering women alcoholics, which emerged in the late seventies, and has been growing steadily.

In 1987, the Women's Action Alliance established the Women's Alcohol and Drug Education Project, to develop model programs and a Guide on Alcohol and Drug Problems to be used in women's centers nationwide.

THE TWO MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH WOMEN'S HEALTH: BWHBC & NWHN:

The Boston Women's Health Book Collective got its start in 1969 at a "Women's Liberation" meeting. In 1970 they published *Women and Their Bodies*, which went through several printings and was renamed *OurBodies OurSelves* in 1971. It spread like the proverbial wildfire, mostly hand to hand, and 250,000 copies were distributed without advertising. In 1975 the collective was approached by Simon & Shuster, and though the group had misgivings about making a deal with a corporate giant, they negotiated a contract that gave them full control over content. Royalties pay some part-time salaries and enable BWHBC to publish Women's Health Information Packets on a wide variety of topics, track research on women's health issues, and answer 500 calls a week from women all over the world. **OBOS has been translated into 13 languages, and has sold 2.5 million copies worldwide as of 1987.** A first edition, the one named *Women and Their Bodies* , is now worth about $75, especially to library collections of the women's movement.

BWHBC has also produced a film - "Taking Our Bodies Back" - and provides seed money and technical support to women's health groups in other parts of the country. Pamela Morgan, of BWHBC, observes that women's health issues get a lot more attention in popular media that they used to, and some of it is extremely good. But issues such as menopause, and osteoporosis, are still not well understood, and there is much misinformation even in the women's publications. Everything that BWHBC produces is designed to empower women so that they can take responsibility for their health and make better informed, more healthful choices.

The New OurBodies OurSelves (1984) is 647 pages long, with very comprehensive lists of publications and organizations at the end of each section. It is completely re-written, and stronger than ever, with major sections on: Taking Care of Ourselves, Relationships and Sexuality, Controlling Our Fertility, Childbearing, Women Growing Older, Common and Uncommon Health and Medical Problems, and Women and the Medical System.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S HEALTH NETWORK

NWHN got its start in 1974, when Barbara Seaman and Belita Cowan created the "Women's Health Lobby" to influence health policy at the federal level. Their first public act was to stage a demonstration on the steps of the Food and Drug Administration in honor of women killed and injured by estrogen drugs, on the day the FDA held hearings on estrogen-replacement therapy. Later, as The National Women's Health Network, they waged many legal and bureaucratic battles: opposing cutoff of funds for Medicaid abortions, pressuring HEW to adopt new regs to prevent forced sterilization of Black, Chicana and Native American women, bringing a class-action suit aga'nst A.H. Robins to force worldwide recall of the Dalkon shield.

In 1983, they sponsored the first national conference on Black Women's Health (in Atlanta), and supported the formation of the National Black Women's Health Project. Currently they have 400 organizational members and about 10,000 individual members nationwide, many of whom are health care professionals. 21 Committees, each concentrating on an issue area, such as Midlife and Older Women, Health Law and Regulation, Sterilization abuse, Contraceptive technology etc., track research and report to the National office. They publish information packets on all the major issues, provide expert testimony to Congress and other federal agencies, answer 300 calls a month from women on a wide variety of health issues, and work with health activist groups around the country.

PREVENTIVE AND WHOLISTIC HEALTH:

The movement in health care away from doctor-centered "health care delivery" and specialization based on body parts toward preventive and wholistic health is relatively new but is almost as profound and broad as the women's movement itself and has similar motive forces behind it. One of them is empowerment of the individual to take responsibility for her/his own health, another is desire to restore wholeness to the individual, to define wellness in terms of the mind and emotions as well as the body.

But documentation of this movement is scarce. The American Holistic Medical Association estimates that at least 10,000 doctors (about 2% of the total) now practice some form of holistic medicine. **The American Holistic Nurses Association started in 1980;** it now has1400 members and its membership is growing by about 20% per year. This transformation in our thinking about health has not been doocumented, but it is clear that this is a long term trend, and that women are among the movers and shapers of it.

---*with help from* Anne Pride (midwifery), Esther Zorn (CPM), Pamela Morgan (BWHBC), Pat Ryan (WAA),

RESOURCES:

American Holistic Nurses Association, 205 Saint Louis St. Suite 506, Springdield MO 65806. (417) 864-5160.

Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 465 Mt. Auburn St., Watertown MA 02172. (617) 924-0304.

Caesarean Prevention Movement, P.O. Box 152, Syracuse NY, 13210. (315) 424-1942. Esther Zorn, Pres. and chapter organizer extraordinaire.

Childbirth at Home International, P.O. Box 39498, Los Angeles CA 90039. Started in 1972, trains childbirth educators and midwives, also publishes information pamphlets. (213)667-0839.

Gray Panthers of Greater Boston, 11 Garden St., Cambridge MA 02138. For info. on "Health Care is a Right" campaign in Massachusetts.

Midwives Alliance of North America (MANA), c/o Concord Midwifery Service, 30 South Main St. concord NH 03301. Canadian and U.S. midwives.

National Women's Health Network, 1325 G St. NW, Lower level, Washington DC 20005. (202) 347-1140.

National Black Women's Health Project, 1237 Gordon St. SW, Atlanta GA 30310. (404)753-0916.

National Women's Congress on Alcohol and Drug Problems, 239 E. Manchester Blvd., Suite 203, Inglewood CA 90301.

Women's Action Alliance, 370 Lexington Ave., New York NY 10017. (215) 532-8330. Women's Alcohol and Drug Education Project, and Women's Centers and AIDS Project.

Women for Sobriety, P.O. Box 618, Quakertown PA 18951. Write for referral to local group.

HOMEMAKERS

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•federal and state laws should recognize marriage as a partnership of equals •social security should cover homemakers in their own right •property arrangements at divorce should recognize minor children's needs first •enactment in every State of the Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act •more effective methods of collection of delinquent support payments •programs for displaced homemakers to help them become self-sufficient.

CURRENT OVERVIEW:

In 1978 there were 4.1 million women who had lost their main source of income through divorce, separation, widowhood or the incapacity of the spouse to work (DOL data). In 1987, the figure has almost tripled, to 11.5 million (1980 Census). 78% of these women are white, 16% are black, and 5% are Hispanic. In 1980, 44% were living below the poverty level, and another 21% were "near poor". Although programs to help these women have multiplied many times over, the population needing help has grown even faster.

Each state has its own divorce laws and nationwide statistics are not compiled. Recently (1987) Lenore Weitzman's work on the unequal financial effects of no-fault divorce has sparked women's reconsideration of divorce laws. Currently, 16 states have ERAs, where all laws, including marriage and divorce laws have been or are being brought into conformity to the principle of the ERA.

There is, as yet, no social security category which covers "unpaid" homemakers. Different federal plans have been proposed but none has yet been enacted into law. Currently, there is no widespread acceptance of the Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act. Further, the Uniform Marital Property Act has been enacted by only one state - Wisconsin, in 1984, after intensive lobbying by 64 women's and other organizations co-ordinated by the Wisconsin Women's Network, six years of redrafting the legislation, and a new governor.

CHILD SUPPORT:

A 1987 Census Bureau report says that 75% of absent fathers pay no child support. Only 2.1 million, out of 8.8 million women-headed families receive full support payments. The average child support payment has decreased since 1983, when it was $2530 /yr., to $2220/yr. (1985). 80% of divorced mothers had some child support awarded, but less than 20% of never-married mothers had awards and their average support payment was half that of the average for all women. 70% of white mothers, but only 33% of black mothers and 40% of Hispanic mothers, are awarded some support.

There is little research and no verification of what are the "more effective methods" for collection of support payments awarded at the time of divorce. The obvious best way seems to be to garnishee the non-payer's income. There has been no strong research on cost to the employer and the employer's attitude or willingness to cooperate. In nearly every state, pensions of the spouse are treated as property. Federal law regulates most pensions except state or local government employee pensions. Federally regulated pensions can be garnisheed for child support or alimony payments. The U.S. Census does collect information on alimony and child support; however, the data cannot be analyzed by state.

PROGRAMS FOR DISPLACED HOMEMAKERS:

Programs for displaced homemakers have increased dramatically, from the estimated 50 that there were in 1977, when the Displaced Homemaker's Network (DHN) was founded, to over 1000 today (1987). Funding for these programs comes

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ONE GOOD EXAMPLE: THE PHOENIX INSTITUTE, UTAH.

The Phoenix Institute, in Salt Lake City, Utah, began in March '85 with Vista volunteers and a small grant to pay for a part-time counselor. In March, 1987, the program secured stable funding with dollars from Utah's new marriage licence fee increase. The Phoenix Institute offers: 1) transitional counseling (both individual and group) which helps the women with emotional adjustments, 2) pre-employment training with assessments, careers exploration and information, resume writing and job search skills, and 3) training and employment information which includes financial aid, community and education resources, job listings and the like. Support includes child care and transportation assistance. A special feature is in-house training for computer literacy and to help conquer computer/machine aversion or anxiety. The most essential components are the counseling and assertiveness training, both of which build or re-build self-esteem and confidence. The program serves over 500 women a year, with 200 of those receiving intensive counseling.

The Phoenix Institute, 1800 South Temple, Suite 211, Salt Lake City, Utah 84115. (801)484-2882.

primarily from two sources: The Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act (1984, superceding the 1976 Voc. Ed. Amendments), and 22 states which have appropriated funds for displaced homemakers' programs.

The first program for displaced homemakers was begun in Oakland, California, by Milo Smith in 1975. Today, the 1000 + programs serve approximately 300,000 people, 98% of whom are women. About 400 of these programs describe themselves as rural.

In general, programs are offered by a paid staff augmented by volunteers. They offer training in job search skills, goal setting and decision making, and some sort of job-specific training or education, as well as strong peer support group components. Other offerings might be: assertiveness training, personal counselling, financial and time management, legal advice, home-based employment exploration, and entrepreneurial training.

In addition to direct service programs, there are now many groups that specialize in legal support or advocacy work. In 1971, the **Women's Legal Defense Fund** was established to assist women to achieve equality under the law, particularly in the areas of employment and the family. WLDF conducts litigation, public education and monitoring of enforcement, as well as development of public policy. WLDF began as an all-volunteer group working mostly in the Washington DC area, and has become a national advocate of women's legal rights, with an annual budget of $1million and a paid staff of 16, serving more than 6000 women a year.

The National Center on Women and Family Law was founded in 1979, and does extensive education and advocacy support work , with emphasis on battered women's rights and child support and custody issues. They are the best source for information about current case and statutory law developments, and are especially useful for lawyers.

Additional legislation in support of displaced homemakers:

1) The Higher Education Act amendments, beginning in 1989, will not compute a woman's home equity assets in assessing her eligibility for financial aid;

2) The Health Insurance Continuation Act (1986) allows spouses who are divorced or widowed to continue company medical coverage for 3 years;

3) JTPA revision in 1986, names "displaced homemakers" in the listing of special populations to be covered by the job training programs.

— Dr. Kathryn Towns, Executive Director , PROBE (Potential Re-entry Opportunites in Business and Education, a displaced homemaker's program in Harrisburg PA) with help from Linda Vogel, a graduate student assistant of Kay's at Penn State University, Capitol Campus.

RESOURCES:

The Displaced Homemakers' Network, 1416 K St. NW Suite 930, Washington DC 20005. (202) 628-6767.

National Women's Law Center, 1616 P St. NW Suite 100, Washington DC 20036. (202) 328-5160.

Women's Law Project, 125 S. 9th St. Suite 401, Philadelphia PA 19107. (215)928-9801.

Women's Legal Defense Fund, 2000 P St. NW Suite 400, Washington DC 20036. (202)887-0364.

National Center on Women and Family Law, (212) 674-8200.

A Status Report on Displaced Homemakers and Single Parents in the United States. 1987. From the Displaced Homemakers Network. A statistical report and analysis of census data.

Women in the Middle Years: Current Knowledge and Directions for Research and Policy. Edited by Janet Zollinger Giele.

INSURANCE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

- Every State should adopt the Model Regulation to Eliminate Unfair Sex Discrimination, amended to cover pregnancy and related expenses, newborns, unwed mothers and children born out of wedlock
- Eliminate use of sex-based actuarial mortality tables in rate and benefit computation.

In every state except Montana, women still pay higher rates than similarly situated men for health, annuity, disability, and auto insurance (over age 25). A study by the Nongender Insurance Project of Montana found that women who were able to carry all five major individual insurance policies (auto, health, disability income, whole life, and annuities) paid a lifetime excess of $20,176 over what a similarly situated man would pay for the same coverage. All this discrimination based on gender would become illegal under a Federal ERA, and State ERAs have been successfully used to challenge discrimination.

LIFE INSURANCE: The industry claims women are getting a price break in this area, but there is no price break for cheaper forms of life insurance (which is all most women can afford) and even at higher levels, women's slightly lower premiums buy a lower net value product. In one company's policy (in Massachusetts), $3520 saved in lower premiums bought a policy worth $7966 less. Individual women should not be shortchanged just because women as a group live a few years longer than men as a group. Fair rates for Life insurance should be based on lifestyle and actual risk factors (e.g. smoking vs. nonsmoking, general fitness).

HEALTH: Women are routinely charged almost twice as much as men (except under Blue Cross, in some states), and their policies still exclude coverage for pregnancy or reproductive-related health needs. The industry argues that women visit the doctor more, but when challenged to prove this in court (in Pennsylvania, 1985), they were unable to; a 1983 study found that only 13.8 per 100 women spent time in the hospital each year, compared to 19.3 per 100 men. The industry also argues that pregnancy is a "voluntary" condition, and therefore should not be covered. But equivalent health insurance policies for men cover hair transplants, vasectomies, sports-related injuries and other conditions that are at least as "voluntary" as pregnancy.

AUTO: Although women under 25 still pay a lower premium in most states, this "advantage" accrues mostly to their fathers; most women who own cars and pay their own auto insurance are over 25. Auto insurance should be based on number of miles driven, a much more accurate predictor of accident rates. Men drive approximately twice as many miles as women.

DISABILITY: Rates for women are sometimes twice those for men, and do not cover maternity-related disability. But women do not suffer disability at a higher rate than men. Group disability insurance when offered is rarely available to part-time workers, 70% of whom are women.

PENSION & ANNUITY: On the assumption that they will live longer, women's monthly annuity payments are smaller than men's, even when they have paid the same amount (or more) into the system. Yet after age 65, 86% of women die in the same proportion as 86% of men.

The inequities in insurance companie's rate-setting schemes has been increasingly well-documented in the course of the decade since 1977. In spite of millions of dollars spent on public relations and lobbying by insurance companies to preserve the status quo, there have been a few victories and many signs of progress, all achieved after years of intensive lobbying and litigation by concerned feminists:

•• **The major breakthrough of the decade was the passage of the Non-Gender Insurance Law in Montana in 1983**; the law went into effect Oct.1, 1985 (for full details, please see next page).

•• **In 1983, the Supreme Court (in *Arizona Governing Committee v. Norris*)** prohibited sex discrimination in employer-operated pension plans covered under Title VII. But companies with less than 15 employees were exempted. Most employer-sponsored insurance, in all 50 states, is now unisex.

•• **In 1984, in *TIAA v. Spirt*,** a Second Circuit Court decision (with Supreme Court approval) ordered equality of benefits for all pensioners retiring after 1980. TIAA is the fourth largest retirement system in the U.S., and this was a precedent-setting case, which showed that pre-existing contracts can be equalized without the company going bankrupt. The insurance lobby consistently argues that fair insurance rates for women would "cost too much".

•• **In 1986, COBRA (the Consolidated Reconciliation Act)** went into effect, allowing a woman divorced or widowed to continue coverage under her husband's group plan, for three years, and only by paying both the employer and the employee portions of the monthly premium. This is not ideal, but it is better than total sudden loss of all coverage.

•• **Five states now prohibit discrimination in auto insurance:** Michigan, Hawaii, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Montana.

•• **Massachusetts recently issued regulations banning sex-discrimination for all types of insurance** sold in the state after Sept. 1, 1988, and including parts of some pre-existing contracts. Insurance companies have filed suit to challenge the law.

•• **Gender neutral insurance is being offered by an**

increasing number of companies: Consumers United Insurance Co. and Co-op America have pioneered in this area, but Home Life Insurance Co., and The Paul Revere Companies also now offer gender neutral rates in some policies; and in 1985 the CEO of John Hancock Mutual Life said "We believe unisex legislation is inevitable.", and that his company would "gladly accept" unisex pricing when it comes.

•• **Co-op America,** a national network of co-ops, businesses and individuals with a progressive, grassroots constitutency, offers its members ($15/yr.) an Insurance Plan with unisex rates that covers choice of alternative health care modalities, reproductive health care (including homebirths), and has group rates; it is especially set up for people who do not have employer-sponsored health coverage. The Co-op America Plan offers the additional benefit of a socially responsible investment policy for investing premiums (through the plan's administrator, Consumers United). Co-op America is "dedicated to creating an alternative marketplace for socially responsible businesses and socially concerned individuals". The 75-page catalog is free to members.

•• **The time is right for litigation.** NOW has brought a class action suit against Mutual of Omaha, in the District of Columbia, over Mutual's discriminatory rates in health insurance. New York State NOW is suing Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. over discriminatory rates for life insurance and disability coverage. *O'Grady v. New York State Retirement System* charges unfair retirement practices for women, who are required to take a leave of absence for pregnancy. All three of these suits are pending.

MONTANA: THE BREAKTHROUGH STATE

The Women's Lobbyist Fund of Montana was founded in 1982 to promote public policy beneficial to women and families. One of the first issues they took on was sex-based insurance rates, and in 1983, the Montana legislature passed the Non-Gender Insurance Law, to take effect October 1, 1985. The effort was greatly helped by the fact that Montana's Insurance Commissioner is elected, and is a woman, Ms. Andrea Bennett, who strongly supported the non-gender insurance legislation.

WLF established a "Non-gender Insurance Project" to monitor compliance , counter the industry's disinformation campaign, build women's lobbying skills and community support for the law, and be a resource to women's groups in other states working on changing sex-based insurance practices. Marcia Youngman, Director of the Project, says the battle to prevent repeal of the new law has been much harder than getting it passed in the first place. The latest repeal attempt, in 1987, passed the legislature but was vetoed by the Governor.

The evidence so far is that none of the industry's horror stories are coming true, and that in fact women and families have benefitted. 58 insurance companies have *entered* the state since 1985, and only 9 left, most of whom said it was not because of the new law, except for one company, who said they *were* leaving because of the law, but then they came back the following year.

Rate Changes in Montana have been beneficial:

In Health and Disability Income insurance, 84% of women experienced decreased rates. The biggest change was for single women under 30, whose rates dropped by 24%, or nearly $200 less per year. **For auto insurance,** 90% of Montana's drivers experienced no rate increase. Young women (under 25) found their rates increasing, but some also reported finding lower rates by shopping around. **Term Life Insurance** rates for 35-year old women rose slightly, by about $9 a year (on a $50,000 policy). **For Whole Life Insurance,** women gained an average of $7,457 in dividends and cash value, after subtracting for the 8% increase in their premiums. **Annuities** also showed big gains for women - an average $5,880 more in monthly payments over a 10-year period. For this study, conducted by WLF, insurance rates in Wyoming were used for comparison to control for rate changes not ascribable to the new law.

In spite of these positive changes, which the industry could use in its favor, the insurance industry has been reprimanded by the Insurance Commissioner for misrepresentation and "hanky-panky". Nevertheless, the Commissioner, Ms. Bennett, says: "I do believe that non-gender insurance is going to happen all over the United States."

WLF reports that groups in at least 14 states are pursuing non-gender laws, and the Non-Gender Insurance Project is organizing a conference in Washington DC in May 1988 to bring together women from all 50 states, and (mostly women) state legislators, to coordinate strategies to end discrimination. The Conference is being cosponsored with Women's Equity Action League, The National Center for Policy Alternatives, ACLU, and others.

-- most of the information above was taken from the WEAL Packet (see description, below) and materials supplied by the Montana Non-gender Insurance Project.

RESOURCES:

Women's Equity Action League, 1250 I St. NW, suite 305, Washington DC 20005. (202) 898-1588. Has packet on Insurance Discrimination that includes articles on the issues, a list of resources both in the states and nationally, a glossary, and very concrete, well-thought-out suggestions for state action, all for just $5.

Women's Lobbyist Fund, Non-Gender Insurance Project, 1214 W. Koch, Bozeman, Montana 59715. (406) 587-5704. Contact: Marcia Youngman

National Organization for Women, NOW Insurance and Pension Project, 1401 New York Ave. NW #800, Washington DC 20005-2101. (202) 347-2279. Has publications, fact sheets (state-by-state), sample press packet, etc. NOW also has a health insurance plan for members, administered through Consumers United.

Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 2012 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036. (202) 293-1100.

Co-op America, 2100 M St NW, Suite 310, Washington DC. 20063. (202) 872-5307. Alisa Gravitz (General Manager).

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

WOMEN AND FOREIGN POLICY: •more women, of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, should participate in the formulation and execution of all aspects of United States foreign policy •increase the number of women at all grade levels within foreign affairs agencies, including embassies and commissions •a permanent advisory committee to the State Department, composed of a majority of women, to advise on the selection of women candidates for these positions.

UN COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN: •adequate funding of the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: •integration of women into the development plans for their respective countries, plus more adequate study of the impact on women in the developing world of US Government aid and commercial development programs •women of these countries should be involved in determining their own needs and priorities in programs intended for their benefit.

HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS FOR WOMEN: •ratification and compliance with international human rights treaties, with special notice for the situation of women victims of oppression, political imprisonment and torture.

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT: •more serious disarmament negotiations •reduce military spending, convert excessive weapons manufacturing capacity to production for meeting human needs •peace education in the schools, funding for advanced study in conflict resolution and peacekeeping •US to take the lead in phasing out nuclear arsenals.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION: •more education and communication about international developments, emphasizing women's present and potential contribution to economic and social well-being.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DECADE: •US funding for the UN Decade for Women meetings and activities, and full US participation in the 1985 World Conference to review the Decade.

THE DECADE:

The Decade ended in 1985 at the UN World Conference in Nairobi. Women who attended the NGO Forum numbered at least 12,000, almost double the number that attended the mid-decade conference in Copenhagen in 1980, and four times the number at Mexico City in 1975. There was strong sentiment at the NGO Forum in Nairobi for another world meeting in 1990, to continue the immensely valuable networking and information sharing that the three world conferences of the Decade have provided. At the Government- to-Government Conference, the Soviet Union proposed another world meeting in 1990 and many countries supported this proposal, but it was shot down by the US delegation, and vague language about holding another world conference "at least once between 1985 and the year 2000" was all that was included in the Forward Looking Strategies, the official document of the Conference. As of 1987, the Commission on the Status of Women is meeting annually. It will have an expanded meeting in 1990, and will by then have made a decision about whether the next world meeting will be held in 1993 or 1995. Country Reports on progress on CEDAW are being heard in 1988.

CEDAW:

"...the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world, and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields..."

(from the preamble to the Convention).

The International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women can be traced back to 1946, when the UN created the UN Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission began addressing issues of inequality, issuing Conventions on Political Rights, and Married Women, and in 1967, a Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. During the Decade for Women (1975-1985), the Declaration was refined and expanded to become the present Convention, which was introduced in 1980, at the Copenhagen Mid-Decade UN Conference. The United States and 77 other countries became signatories at that time, indicating broad agreement with the principles of the Convention.

As of 1987, over 60% of the countries of the world, 93 countries, have now ratified the Convention, but the US is not one of them. Ratification means a committment to implement the Convention, not just agreement in principle. The Convention has been described as an ERA for the world, only it is much more spelled out, more like the National Plan of Action for Women in its specificity. **Support groups in the US are organizing lobbying in the Senate, which is the body which ratifies treaties and conventions:**

•The International Women's Rights Action Watch (IWRAW), was organized in 1986 by Arvonne

Fraser and Marsha Freeman at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, and Stephen Isaacs and Rebecca Cook at Columbia University. They publish a quarterly newsletter, which carries updates on the Convention and news about women's organizing and achievements in other parts of the world, from the international network of women that are actively supporting CEDAW. • **IWTC** has a slide tape in Spanish, and a workbook on UN Conventions on Women. • **B'nai B'rith Women** publishes a whole series of useful materials - including a Fact Sheet and a Booklet that goes into depth on the background and contents of the Convention and lists the countries that have ratified. • **The National Committee on CEDAW** formed on the West coast in 1986, out of a network of women's groups who were involved in the UN Decade, and many individuals who were at Nairobi. They have a speaker's bureau and have very current information about lobbying efforts and who is supporting what in the Senate. (See Resources, p. 51, for addresses/ phone numbers of the above organizations).

WOMEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Though the UN has a strong and progressive record on paper, particularly Article 8 of the UN Charter, its implementation of measures to employ women more equitably in its own offices and agencies has been dismally slow. **The Group on Equal Rights for Women was established in 1971** to push for fulfillment of the promise of Article 8, but there is very little good news 17 years later. Although women hold 23% of professional level positions (P-1 through Secretary General), 96% of those women are in the lower half (P-5 and below) of the scale. Women's representation in member state delegations has not changed from its 1975 level of 7.6%, and most of these women are junior secretaries or attaches. Only 4 (out of 204) Ambassadors are women. But the Group on Equal Rights is stronger now, more visible, and does thorough and regular documentation of the situation, much of which is carried in their newsletter, *Equal Times*.

DEVELOPMENT / DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

OEF INTERNATIONAL / WOMEN AND WORLD HUNGER PROJECT: OEF International (formerly Overseas Education Foundation) was founded in 1941, by the League of Women Voters, as a private voluntary organization to improve the economic condition of low income Third World women. In the course of providing training and technical assistance to poor women in over 70 countries, over a period of more than 30 years, they became aware of how much women's agricultural work contributes to the economy of Third World countries, how "Development" has worked to the detriment of many of these women, and how hunger in the Third World would be significantly lessened if Development planners would pay more attention to the effects of Development on women. **The Women and World Hunger Project** was initiated in 1982 to educate the American public, especially women, about these issues and to mobilize support for efforts in Third World countries to promote and enhance women's well-being. OEF is an important source of information on all of these issues. (See Resources / publications, p. 51.)

TRICKLE UP: The Trickle Up Program (TUP) was started in 1979 by Mildred Robbins Leet and Glen Leet to address the problems of poverty in low income populations by providing small amounts of capital to groups of five or more who have an income generating idea and need start-up funds. 70% of TUPs beneficiaries are women. In the eight years since its inception, TUP has fostered 4,013 business enterprises in 90 countries, involving 36,000 entrepreneurs. The projects are coordinated through a network of 805 volunteers (worldwide) who are usually development workers or professionals in the field. In May 1987, TUP was granted Consultative Status by the UN (Economic and Social Council).

AWID: Another achievement of the decade is the founding of the Association for Women in Development (AWID), in 1982. AWID forms an important link between academic writers and researchers, policy makers, and staff people from all levels of various Development agencies. AWID's annual conferences address the problems and issues of assuring that Development policy and practice is equitable to women.

WORLD YWCA: It is impossible to give proper credit here to the importance and effectiveness of the World YWCA for women in the Third World. With its long-standing committment to peace, health, human rights, and more recently, energy and the environment, Y policy has always been community based and woman focused. In many areas of the world, the local Y is the only place women can get some education (albeit "informal"), and it is a prime leadership training ground for women. In Uganda, the Y is a prime force for community improvement, esp. in sanitation and health. Botswana Y has 90 branches, and has been key to literacy programs for women. Margaret Mead (in 1977, at Houston) said the world Y had done more for women than any other organization. There are 84 national Y's. Empowerment of women is the common goal, with elimination of racism, violence, unhealthful living conditions, illiteracy, and destruction of the environment as important components of "Development with Justice".

EQUITY POLICY CENTER : Founded by Irene Tinker in 1978, EPOC is a major resource for information and technical assistance in the formulation of development policies which are sensitive to the needs and lives of women. Willie Campbell, the Pres. of the Board of OEF, calls Irene Tinker "the mother of us all", but Irene herself acknowledges that her work builds on Esther Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970). EPOC has a library of hard -to-find mate rials on women and development, and publishes a long list of "sectoral" studies on *e.g.* household energy use, water and sanitation, refugee issues, micro-entrepreneurship and home-based workers, and educational equity.

IWTC: The International Women's Tribune Center started in1976, midwifed by Mildred Persinger, with one paid staff (Anne Walker), a few volunteers, and the mailing list from the First World Conference of Women in Mexico City in 1975 (about 2500 names.) Without particularly trying to grow, they now have eight paid staff, and produce a wide assortment of organizing tools, How To Handbooks, Resource Lists, training materials, and a Quarterly newsletter that goes to about 14,000 world wide and is published in Spanish and French as well as English. Most of their materials are designed for practical use by women in the Third World, with keen awareness of the issues around technology. "If its not appropriate for women, its not appropriate" is one of their posters, which was very popular at Nairobi. Most of their materials are free to women in the Third World, and all of their publications are enhanced by the vivid and no-nonsense illustrations and graphics of Director Anne Walker.

IWSN: The International Women's Studies Network was built out of meetings at Copenhagen (1980), Montreal (1982) and Nairobi (1985), involving women from at least 55 countries. IWSN is administered by Florence Howe at the Feminist Press (CUNY) and Vina Mazumdar of the Center for Women's Development Studies in New Delhi, India. As an organized effort, it is not yet to the point where it has had a great influence in the US. Ms. Howe stresses that in the rest of the world, the connections between Development and Women's Studies are unavoidable, but they have been mostly ignored in the US. International Women's Studies is just at the beginning of realizing its unique potential for educating the world about women, and especially, educating American women about women in other parts of the world.

UNIFEM: Formerly known as the Voluntary Fund, the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) continues to provide training, technical support, and financial assistance to women in countries where "Development" has marginalized women by ignoring their very substantial contibutions to the economies of their countries. Since 1976, when it was founded, the fund has helped more than 63,000 women become self-sufficient, while it has also assisted in reforestation and energy-conservation projects. UNIFEM also provides consultation and training for development planners, to ensure that development projects benefit women equitably. Although the amount of money distributed, about $21 million as of 1985, is very small compared to Development funds flowing through other channels, like many other feminist enterprises, UNIFEM gets a lot more mileage out of each dollar. Follow-up evaluations of UNIFEM projects have shown long term benefits of increased self-sufficiency, increased participation in social and economic planning, and permanent support systems among the women brought together in UNIFEM projects. UNIFEM receives its funding from various governments, principally Canada, Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries. The US contributed $2.6 million in 1977, but the Reagan Administration has systematically slashed the appropriation every year, to $219,000 in 1987, and $0 for 1988.

WOMEN AND FOREIGN POLICY:

Noting the continuing dearth of women in foreign policy decision-making, The Women's Foreign Policy Council was established in 1985. Their first project was the publication, in 1987, of the *Women's Foreign Policy Council Directory*, a listing, with full professional profiles, of 275 women with expertise in foreign policy.

PEACE EDUCATION

Educators for Social Responsibility was founded in 1981 by Roberta Snow, and women educators have been instrumental in its development. It started with about 40 people, and now has 12,000 members. ESR's purpose is to train and assist teachers in the process of teaching about the arms race and disarmament issues so that students can make up their own minds. Training and materials include information on bias and propaganda. Each summer since 1983, ESR has organized teacher's institutes around the country. Last summer they had eight institutes, involving a total of 300 teachers, on a variety of topics: The Soviet Union, Conflict Resolution, Social Responsiblity, etc. They have 200 workshop leaders nationwide. They started with one curriculum guide called "Dialogue", and now have seven guides and four videos that are being used in public and private school systems, elementary and high school, all over the country. They are an excellent source of materials for educating people of any age about the arms race and disarmament issues.

WOMEN'S PEACE ACTIVISM

In 1983, *Nuclear Times* did a survey of 26 national peace groups and found that 23 of them reported that at least half of their members were women, even in organizations that have been male-dominated in the past. The same organizations reported that women also made up half or more of their leadership - this includes groups such as the National Freeze Campaign, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Ground Zero, Mobilization for Survival, and Council for a Livable World. Women hold 25 (out of 30) slots in the national leadership of Physicians for Social Responsibility. PSR was founded by a woman (Dr. Helen Caldicott) and so was the Freeze Campaign (Randall Forsberg).

In addition to women's increased activism in co-ed groups, and the re-newal and growth of well-established women's groups such as **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** (est.

1915) and **Women Strike for Peace** (est. 1961), there has been a blossoming of new women's peace groups. All these groups admit men, but they were founded by and are generally run by women:

- **Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament** (WAND), founded by Helen Caldicott in 1980, now has 22,000 members and contributed (via its PAC) more than $100,000 to candidates in the 1986 elections. WAND also conducted an important national in-depth survey on disarmament in 1986, which has been used by all major peace groups.
- **Peace Links** was founded in 1982 by Betty Bumpers, and worked through a network of congressional wives to establish chapters in every state. It now has 28,000 "links", and has been especially active in "citizen diplomacy", sponsoring programs on the Soviet Union and participating in exchanges with Soviet women.
- **Grandmothers for Peace** was founded in Sacramento in 1982, now has a national mailing list of 2000, and sent a delegation in Sept. 1987 to meet with grandmothers in the Soviet Union. They have made a particular point of promoting a Comprehensive Test Ban.
- **Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament** (MEND) came together in 1985, organized by Linda Smith on the model of Mothers Against Drunk Driving. They now have 2500 members, with chapters in four cities, and specialize in educating people about disarmament issues.
- **Women for a Meaningful Summit** (WMS), formed in 1985 as an international coalition of women's peace groups, and affinity groups (total of 83 organizations). Originally an ad hoc leadership group seeking to inject a women's viewpoint into the Summit process, they are now seeking funding to re-organize as a permanent coalition with grassroots support.

NOTE ON THE POWER OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In 1987, in Boston, peace activist Jane Collins succeeded in prodding the Nynex Co., publisher of Boston's Yellow Pages, to include a heading for "Peace Organizations". Collins supplied them with a list of 50 organizations in the Boston area, wrote many rounds of letters, and finally enlisted the help of a lawyer and the Disarmament Action Network, and as a result, every telephone subscriber in the Boston area will have (in the 1988 Yellow Pages) a handy list of peace groups. (Info. from the newsletter of The War Resisters League, 3/88.)

RESOURCES:

ORGANIZATIONS

OEF International, 2101 L St. NW Ste. 916, Washington DC 20037 (202) 466-3430. Newsletter, publications list. Three examples listed below.

International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC), 777 UN Plaza, New York NY 10017. (212) 687-8633. Publishes*Tribune Quarterly*, plus a long list of materials on women in development.

Trickle Up, 54 Riverside Drive, PHE, New York NY 10024. (212) 362-7958. Newsletter.

B'nai B'rith Women, 1640 Rhode Island Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036. Booklet on the Convention, Fact Sheets, Organizing materials.

IWRAW, Arvonne Fraser, Women Public Policy and Development Project, Humphrey Institute, 301 - 19th Ave. S, Minneapolis MN 55455.

National Committee on CEDAW, c/o Billie Heller, 520 N. Camden Dr., Beverley Hills CA 90210.

Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), 23 Garden St., Cambridge MA 02138. (617) 492-1746.

National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. NW, Wash. DC 20008. (202) 483-3751.

Group on Equal Rights for Women in the UN, United Nations, New York NY 10017. (212) 754-6209. Cecile Gross, Pres.

Equity Policy Center, 4818 Drummond Ave., Chevy Chase MD 20816. (301) 656-4475.

UNIFEM, 304 E. 45th St. 11th fl., New York NY 10017. (212) 906-6400. Contributions made payable to the U.S. Committee for UNIFEM, and sent to same at 1889 F St. NW, Washington DC 20006, are tax deductible.

WILPF, 1213 Race St., Phila. PA. (215) 563-7110.

WAND, Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston MA 02258. (617) 643-6740

PEACE LINKS, 747 8th St.SE, Wash. DC 20003. (202)544-0805.

MEND, Box 2309, LaJolla CA 93038. (619)454-3343.

Women for a Meaningful Summit, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington DC 20036. (202)822-7492.

PUBLICATIONS:

Women's International Network News (WIN News), 187 Grant St., Lexington MA 02173 (617) 862-9431 Packed with good informaion, quarterly.

Uncounted, Underutilized: Women Food Producers: Potential Power for Combating World Hunger. 1985. 28pp. Short but thorough intro. to the facts, with suggestions for action. OEF International.

Empowerment and the Law: Strategies of Third World Women. 1987. 454 pp. Comprehensive analysis of Women, Law and Development, Edited by Margaret Schuler, with contributions from women in 32 countries. Grew out of Women Law and Development Forum at Nairobi. From OEF.

Nuclear Times, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington DC 20009. (202)332-9222. Six times per year. $21. General coverage of peace movement.

Women at State, published by Women's Research & Education Inst. (WREI), 44pp., 1984. Info. and analysis of women in the State Dept., in foreign service and civil service, 1970-1981.

Sisterhood is Global, Robin Morgan, ed., an anthology of the international women's movement, facts and essays on the status and activism of women in each country, including the UN. Anchor/Doubleday, Garden City NY, 1984.

Women's Foreign Policy Council Directory, professional profiles of over 250 women with expertise in foreign policy, available from The Women's Foreign Policy Council, Suite 923, 1133 Broadway, New York NY 10010.

MEDIA

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS
•more employment of women in policy-making positions in all media •expand portrayal of women to include greater variety of roles and more accurate reflection of the numbers and lifestyles of women in society •more training opportunities for women for technical jobs •public broadcasting should assume a leadership role in integrating women in employment and programming •continued monitoring of the mass media by women's and advocacy groups and appropriate action to improve the image and employment of women in the communications industries.

Progress has been made in the Post-Houston decade.

EMPLOYMENT

A study by American Women in Radio and TV (AWRT) released in June 1987 show that women at all levels of TV management jumped from 22.3% in 1978 to 29.9% in 1987; in radio, women went from 21.4% to 30% in the same time period. But the study also showed that significant numbers of women have yet to bridge the gap from middle to top management. In TV, women are just 6.1% of presidents, v-ps and general managers, little changed from 5.6% in 1978. In radio, women have 8.4% of top jobs, up 2.5% in nine years.

FCC lets women and minorities down: A study by the Telecommunications Consumer Coalition shows a dramatic increase in the percentage of women and minorities hired by TV stations from 1971 up to 1980. That growth virtually stopped in 1980, however, because the FCC stopped enforcing existing hiring regulations which specify that hiring come up to at least 50% of the percent of women or minority persons in the labor force. The FCC is also ignoring enforcement of regulations at networks, and new satellite networks dont fall under FCC regs.

The FCC (which does continue to study the situation) found that in 1986, although women constitute 44.5% of the labor force, they hold just 40.4% of jobs in cable and 37.4% in broadcasting.

Radio is more fair to women than TV: A 1985 survey by Vernon Stone (Univ. of Missouri, Columbia) for the Radio Television News Directors Association found that 10% of TV News Directors were women (in 1985) compared with 5% in 1979. Radio stations had 21% women News Directors, compared to 11% in 1984. In 1976 women were 20% of TV anchorpersons and 37% of radio newscasters. In 1985, these percentages increased to 36% and 53% respectively. This survey also revealed that women TV News Directors earn 38% less than men News Directors. In radio, the wage gap for women News Directors is 18%.

Jean Gaddy Wilson's study, "Taking Stock: Women in the Media Before the 21st Century" (Gannett Foundation, 1987), found that 36% of all employees at newspapers, TV, and radio stations are women. Wilson also found that even when salaries of men and women with the same length of service, at newspapers of similar size, are compared, the women's salaries are lower in every job category and every circulation size.

Dorothy Jurney has made a 10-year study of women in news policy-making jobs on U.S. daily and Sunday newspapers. Her survey showed that from 1977 to 1986, women made a gain of 7.2% in directing editorships. This includes years when real or threatened audits paid off in a steep rise in promotions for women. The National Federation of Presswomen is working with the American Society of Newspaper Editors to make Jurney's study an on-going project. Her study, completed in 1987, will be released in 1988.

Few women now own or have ever owned media outlets: in 1985 women owned controlling stock in fewer than 3% of TV stations 9% of radio stations, and only a handful of newspapers had women owners or publishers.

All of these figures have to be understood in the light not only of women's presence in the population and the workforce, but also the fact that since 1977, women have accounted for more than half of enrollments in journalism classes nationwide, and in 1984, the figure was 59%.

Images of Women: The National Commission on Working Women continues to report on the portrayal of women in television programs in each new fall season's offerings. In 1982, NCWW's first report - "What's Wrong with This Picture?" - found only about 1/3 of characters on TV were women, and that they were mostly young, white, and single. The 1987 report showed an improved picture. The number of women characters had increased and become more diverse. "However," the report says, "there are still far too few minority females on TV, and those who do appear are almost totally relegated to situation comedies and stereotyped roles." (See *Older Women* for NCWW's report on images of older women on TV.)

The Legal Route: Many large suits brought by women against publishers have been successful, most of them settled in the early 80's. A Title VII class action suit against McMillan Publishing Co.

for sex discrimination resulted in a $1.9 million award. A class action suit charging the *Detroit News* with sex discrimination brought a $300,000 settlement. Women at *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and Associated Press have all won large settlements and affirmative action plans, with back pay, training, promotion goals, and bonuses. These suits take a long time - the AP suit was initiated in 1973, settled in 1983 - and are wearying for all concerned. But it seems to be the only way, and it has been very effective in the last ten or fifteen years.

Media Report: But you didn't read about these cases in *The New York Times*, or *The Washington Post.* You read about them in *Media Report to Women*, published by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (WIFP), founded by Donna Allen in 1972 and dedicated to reporting on "what women are thinking and doing to change the communications media." *Media Report* recently (1987) changed owner and editorship - it is now being published by WIFP Associate Sheila Gibbons. Ms. Allen will continue to publish the annual Index/Directory of Women's Media.

Women's Media: Thanks to the Index-Directory, we can trace the development of women's own media, without which much of the work on the Plan documented in this survey report would have been much harder. Since there was so much news (for feminists) that was not being carried by existing media, we had to create our own. The first feminist women's newspaper started in 1969. The following table shows the growth in women's media between 1977 and 1987.

	1977	1987
Periodicals	150	320
Presses / Publishers	33	112
Radio & TV Programs	27	46
News Services	3	13
Bookstores	32	86
Library Collections	14	72
Music groups	18	38
Art/graphics/theater	27	48

(Note: the 1987 figures are probably more accurate than the 1977 figures because the Index/ Directory has become better known over the years. For instance, Ms. Allen notes that in 1977 there were probably more library collections on women, but they had not yet registered with the directory. And in every category there have been losses, so that the increase in numbers has been achieved in spite of casualties along the way.)

HERSAY news service started in 1977, and is the only one of the early ones still operating.

The main growth has been in single issue periodicals, and special identity periodicals, such as women of color, lesbians, overweight women, motorcycle women, women in the martial arts, etc. Most of the information carried in these periodicals can be got no other way, and most of it comes from the women doing the work, women organizing on the issues that concern them. All have begun to communicate as women, among themselves,

Donna Allen's daughter, Martha Leslie Allen, has just completed her PhD dissertation on this subject (*Development of Communication Networks Among Women -1963-1983*, Unpublished Diss. Howard University. May 1988.) and most of the above paragraph comes from a recent conversation with her.

The Gray Lady Finally Recognizes "Ms." : On June 30, 1986, the *New York Times*, the "Gray Lady" of American journalism, finally adopted the use of "Ms." as an honorific for women. But this step was not taken without considerable nudging from concerned feminists, starting in the early 70's, and continuing steadily over the years up to 1986. Paula Kassell, founder and Senior Editor of *New Directions for Women* (one of the oldest and best of the women's newspapers discussed above), bought stock in the Times just so she could go to the stockholder's meetings. She had raised the issue many times at those meetings, as had other women, and many letters to the editor had been written. The full story, including an amusing exchange between Arthur Ochs Sulzburger, publisher of The Times and Ms. Kassell, is recounted in the Sept./Oct. 1986 issue of *New Directions for Women.*

The adoption of Ms. in the *NYT* style sheet is representative of a widespread change in American journalism, not yet well-documented, in which many Plan issues previously ignored, downplayed or distorted, have begun to be taken seriously (e.g. child care, child abuse, battered women, women in politics, women in the work force), at least since 1984 and Ms. Ferraro's campaign for the Vice-Presidency. There is still a great deal of room for improvement, but the word "feminist" is no longer a slur, and reporters sometimes even use the words "sexism" and "racism" as valid descriptive terms.

-- mostly Sue Kaufman, Assistant
Professor of Communications at Eastern
Illinois Univesity, and a little Susanna
Downie, with much reliance on the work of
Donna and Leslie Allen.

RESOURCES:

American Women in Radio and TV (AWRT), 1101 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 700, Washington DC 20036. (202) 429-5102.

Women in Communications International (WICI), 1250 Eye St. NW, Washington DC 20005.

Womens' Institute for Freedom of the Press, 3306 Ross Place NW, Washington DC 20008. (202) 966-7783. Pub. *Index-Directory of Women's Media.*

Media Report to Women, $25 /yr. from Communication Research Associates, Inc., 10606 Mantz Road, Silver Spring MD 20903. (301) 445-3230.

MINORITY WOMEN

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS
•"women" includes "minority women" • legislation and enforcement of existing laws addressing such problem areas as: involuntary sterilization, monolingual education and services, high infant and maternal mortality rates, confinement to low level jobs and ghettoized housing, combined sex and race bias in insurance...
AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKAN NATIVE WOMEN: • preservation of tribal heritage (including spiritual values), tribal sovereignty, hunting and fishing rights, and trust status • stop removal of children from their families
ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN WOMEN • special problems include: language and culture barriers, sweatshop work conditions, lack of access to accreditation and licensing due to immigrant status
HISPANIC WOMEN • stop deportation of mothers of American-born children • legislation to facilitate citizenship • minimum wage, collective bargaining rights, adequate housing for migrant farm working women • equal opportunity to training and employment in communications, to provide Spanish-language progamming...
PUERTO RICAN WOMEN • Puerto Rican women are citizens of the United States and wish to be recognized as equals
BLACK WOMEN • full quality education, at all levels • full employment, especially for teenage black women • adoption of black orphans • enforcement of fair housing laws, Federally assisted low and moderate income housing

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WOMEN OF COLOR:
AN INVISIBLE DECADE OF GROWTH

The women of color movement in the last decades has been broad and substantial, but is often unconnected, and is largely undocumented. The information presented here is incomplete, but is put forward in hopes of encouraging others to share information and deepen the analysis.

According to a survey by the **International Council for African Women (ICAW)**, the number of women of color groups (which includes all the above racial and ethnic categories) in the U.S. increased from 300 (in 1975) to over 1000 in 1985. The focus of these groups (overall) shifted in the same time period from strictly social service and educational work to issue and policy oriented activities. This shift has taken place at different times for Asian, Native American, Hispanic, and Black women, but the shift is distinct for each. Taken together, the changes demonstrate women's increased organizing as autonomous groups, rather than as auxiliaries or subunits of male-controlled groups.

Another commonality among these groups has been their ambivalent relationship to the mainstream (mostly white) women's movement. Feminism was tentatively explored while feminists were gravely distrusted. For most women of color organizations, it has taken years of development to learn to resist anti-feminist rhetoric while simultaneously defining and working from a self-chosen feminist perspective on child care, health issues, violence against women, pay equity, reproductive rights, and other Plan areas.

Another growth indicator deserving research is the geographic and demographic characteristics of each sector of the women of color movement, and what effect these factors have had on the political direction of the organizations. Most women of color organizations appear to have developed in a bi-coastal fashion, with large concentrations in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington DC. Development in the Midwestern and Southern parts of the country appears to be more cohesive (less fragmented), but fewer in number. Where there are large concentrations of a particular race or ethnicity, for instance, Native Americans in Minnesota, there are naturally larger and stronger groups of women in that same region.

Asian-American, Black, and Hispanic women's organizations are concentrated primarily on the coasts. Black women's organizations predominate in the deep South. The midwest is more diverse, with Native American and Hispanic, as well as Black women's organizations. The Southwest, as one might expect, has a large concentration of Hispanic women's groups, but also Native American and a few Black groups.

Women of color organizations blossomed in numbers beginning in the early 70's, following the the Civil Rights movement of the 60's, the end of the Vietnam War, and nationalist movements among Hispanic, Asian-American, and Native American populations. Women of color were also stimulated by the UN Decade World Conferences (Mexico City, 1975, Copenhagen, 1980, and Nairobi in 1985). Corresponding to the development of autonomous women of color organizations, there was an increase in the number of women of color joining feminist groups such as NOW, and working at feminist projects such as rape crisis centers and battered women's shelters. Another contributor to the growth was the expansion of women's studies courses that focused on women of color during the 70's and 80's, and the development of Black Women's Studies in the early 80's.

The following partial chronology gives an indication of specific points in the development of women of color groups:

1970 • Founding of **Native American Women's Action Corps** (quickly faded out), and **North American Indian Women's Association** (still operating).

1971 • *Asian Studies* journal does first issue on pan-Asian women, called *Asian Women.*

1972 • **Commission Feminil Mexicana** organized as first national Hispanic feminist organization. In 1975, they became the first Hispanic women's organization to declare themselves publicly pro-choice.

• **National Conference of Puerto Rican Women** (NCOPRW) founded.

• First women of color ERA organization

1973 • **National Black Feminist Organization** formed.

• **First International Conference of Indigenous Women of the Americas** held in Chiapas, Mexico.

1974 • **Combahee River Collective Statement** - definitive Black feminist statement combining anti-sexist, anti-racist, and anti-homophobic work into an organized theoretical construct.

• **Mexican American Women National Association** organizes around feminist principles, as part of mobilizing for 1975 UN Decade Mexico City Conference.

• First **Native American Women's Studies** course, at Dartmouth College.

1975 • First **Hispanic Women's Center** established, in New York City.

1976 • **Native American Women Writers Conference**, in Arizona.

• National Institute of Education sponsors a conference on Native American Women, in New Mexico.

• Organization of **Pan Asian American Women** founded, the first national public policy and leadership development consolidation of Asian American women.

1977 • **Organization of Chinese American Women** founded, first national organization for women of Chinese descent.

• **Black Women's Agenda** organized in Washington DC, presents proposal at National Women's Conference at Houston, which becomes basis for Minority Women's plank in the Plan.

• **First Minority Women's Committee** within the National Organization for Women is formed.

1978 • **Women of All Red Nations (WARN)** founded.

• First national conference on Third World Women and Violence Against Women, in Washington DC.

1981 • **National Coalition of 100 Black Women** founded.

• **National Black Women's Health Project** begins organizing, holds conference in Atlanta in 1983, attracting over 2000 participants, the largest gathering of women of color held to date.

1982 • **National Institute for Women of Color** founded, the first national organization devoted specifically to bringing together all women of color in a research and public policy organization. Hosts first national policy conference for women of color.

• **Third World/Women of Color Caucus** organized at the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence; this is the largest women of color caucus still active.

•**International Council of African Women,** founded, with international focus.

1983 •***Between Ourselves,*** first national women of color newspaper begins publishing.

•***Upfront,*** first national Black women's newspaper begins publication.

1984 • **National Political Congress of Black Women** founded by Black women disappointed in the Democratic and Republican party's dismissal of Black women as a political force.

1986 • first **Black Women's Political Action Committee** formed to raise funds for Black women candidates (organized by National Political Congress of Black Women).

• first **National Conference on Women of Color and Reproductive Rights,** sponsored by NOW, but organized by women of color, held in Washington DC.

-- Loretta Ross, Women of Color
Coordinator of NOW

RESOURCES:

Mexican American Women's National Association, 1201 Sixteenth St. NW, Washington DC. 20036. (202) 822-7888.

Hispanic Women's Council, 5803 East Beverley Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90022. c/o Cecilia Sandoval

Organization of Pan Asian American Women, P.O.Box 39128, Washington DC 20016. (202) 659- 9370.

Organization of Chinese American Women, 1525 O St. NW, Washington DC 20005. (202) 328-3185.

Black Women's Agenda, c/o PSI Assoc. 1000 Vermont Ave. NW, Washington DC 20005.

National Coalition of 100 Black Women, 10 East 87th St., New York NY. 10018. (212) 410-7510.

National Institute for Women of Color, PO Box 50583, Washington DC. 20004 (202) 828-0735.

International Council of African Women, PO Box 55076, Wash DC 20011. (301) 565-9313.

Women of All Red Nations, General Delivery, Porcupine SD, 57779. Contact: Lorelei Means

American Indian Women on the Move , P.O. Box 60436, Los Angeles CA 90060. (213) 974-7741.

Northwest Indian Women's Circle, P.O. box 8051, Tacoma WA 98408. (206) 458-7610.

Indigenous Women's Network, 1519A East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis MN 55404. (612)872-1097.

OFFENDERS

NATIONAL PLAN PRIORITIES:
•eliminate discrimination in penal facilities, especially where it affects poor and minority women •legal counselling and referral services •improved health services •protection from sexual abuse •improved vocational training and education, with emphasis on non-stereotyped range of skills •provision for care of children of mothers under arrest, on trial or in prison •community based treatment facilities, halfway houses, work releases and group homes •status offenses must be removed from the jurisdiction of juvenile courts •more youth bureaus, crisis centers and diversion agencies for female juveniles detained for status offenses.

There has been progress for female offenders, mostly in the form of innovative work release and community based programs in many states and less discrimination. But the good news is tempered: over-crowding is at an all time high, most prisons are operating at at least double capacity, and this is primarily due to one sad fact:

✦ Although female inmates are still less than 5% of the national prison population, the female prison population has grown at a faster rate than the male prison population in each year since 1981. The highest growth rates (1986) are in: Oklahoma (33.9%), New York (25.6%), Michigan (25.2%), Florida (25%). The national average growth rate in 1986 was 15.1% for women and 8.3% for men.

The increase in female offenders comes largely in two categories: larceny (shoplifting) and fraud (bad check passing). Larceny accounted for 10.6% of female arrests in 1975, but 19.4% in 1980. Fraud accounted for 2.3% in 1960 and 9.6% in 1980. Speculation about these increases and their relationship to a new type of offender are discussed in "The New Female Offender - Reality or Myth?" by Carol Smart (1982). According to Smart, factors involved in the changing picture of female criminality include the increase in female poverty, the decline of family support systems, migration to urban areas, and rising standards of living.

Adult female offenders nationwide remain dramatically undereducated. In 1986, 33% had a G.E.D., 34% had only 9 to 11 years of school completed, and 21% had only 8 years or less. Only .8% had Bachelor's degrees (4% in the state of Maine). 6.5% had some college.

As the *1986 Update* stated, the majority of women offenders are young single mothers of young children, and they have histories of sexual, physical, or emotional abuse. The combination of lack of education or skills plus the burden of parenting is what drives many of these women into petty criminality.

Nevertheless, the last ten years has seen small but widespread improvements in services for female offenders. Data in this area is sparse but the beginnings of a trend are discernible.

(continued next page)

TWO GOOD EXAMPLES:

LEGAL ASSISTANCE FOR MOTHERS IN PRISON (LAMP) / WOMEN'S RESIDENTIAL DAY CENTER FOR GUILFORD CO. NORTH CAROLINA.
LAMP was started in 1984 by Christine Herlinger. Just this year they succeeded in getting funding to open a residential center which will accommodate six families (women with children) and will have space to hold day classes for up to 30 women. They will offer parenting classes, vocational counseling and support services, and a Montessori school on the premises. The Residential Supervisor will be Ms. Vicky Tucker, a 40 yr. old mother of five who was convicted in 1986, served six months in prison, and was so shocked by the humiliating experiences she had there that she has dedicated herself to creating a better system for women. LAMP, 1004 North Elm St. Greensboro NC 27401. (919) 275-9366.

THE PROGRAM (for female offenders) and THE CENTER / PENNSYLVANIA
The Program was founded in Pittsburgh PA in 1974 by Charlotte Arnold, with two full time staff. It became statewide in 1977, and now has 47 full time staff, offering job placement, training, prison advocacy, and counseling to women in all four major urban areas of the state. In 1984, an innovative residential work release center was built by Allegheny Co. and is operated by The Program. The Center houses 30 women with children, and offers leisure life training, parenting classes, and vocational training. The Program, 1520 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh PA 15222. (412) 281-7380.

For instance, in some states now the percentage of the corrections budget spent on female adult offenders exceeds the percentage of women in the incarcerated population:

	% of total prison pop. that is female	*% of budget for female offenders*
Arizona	4.5%	5.4%
Connecticut	4.9%	6.2%
Florida	5%	8.7%
Illinois	3%	8.1%
Pennsylvania	4%	5.2%

These are the best examples. But in other states, such as California, the budget for women is lower than their percentage in the prison population.

However, the National Roundtable on Mothers in Prison, which publishes a directory of organizations and programs that work with and for women prisoners, has found that there are at least 100 such programs nationwide, most of them initiated since 1980. These programs, nearly all of them created and run by women in or working with the criminal justice system, have begun to address some of the basic problems, particularly economic needs and low self-esteem, which have not been addressed by the prison system designed by and for men.

For example:

✚ In 1982, Arizona started a program called ROBE - Resident Operated Business Enterprise. Women are operating four businesses within the prison, including a bakery, a gift shop, and an art gallery.

✚ California has a "Nontraditional Vocational Training for Females" program, which transports women interested in learning skills such as auto mechanics, welding, and sheet metal work, to the men's prison each day for classes and hands-on training; there are also three crews of 18 women each which do conservation work, clearing brush and putting out forestfires.

✚ Connecticut operates a Pre-apprenticeship program, where female inmates work with skilled craftspeople in carpentry, plumbing, electrical work, painting, small engine repair, waste water treatment, and food service, to acquire these specific trade skills.

✚ In Maine, female inmates perform mechanical and electronic repair on talking book machines for libraries throughout the state.

✚ Maryland runs a "Clipping Program", providing a clipping service to any requesting contracted state agency who wishes to have articles pertaining to that agency provided to them. Inmates scan over 100 newspapers.

✚ In Utah, inmates provide care for the handicapped and run a cooperative garden.

✚ In North Carolina county jails, men are allowed to work, but the women are not. But this year (1987), Guilford County will implement a day center and work release program for women(see sidebar).

Conferences on female offenders organized by programs that are run especially for women have been held in Pittsburgh PA (1980), St. Paul MN (1985), and Raleigh NC (1987). These conferences have provided valuable networking and information sharing for the women who work with female offenders. In addition, the National Roundtable has held three national conferences (starting in 1985) and plans to continue them annually.

Marcia Hinton, Director of The Center (the work-release facility of The Program for Female Offenders, in Pittsburgh (see sidebar), estimates that agencies such as the ones listed in the National Roundtable Directory serve perhaps 20% of the women needing such services. But work release programs, which have counselling and "surrogate parenting" components, have a much higher success rate than prisons (though data here is sparse). Hinton estimates that the recidivism rate for the county jails in PA. is 60 - 70%, whereas for The Program it is in the neighborhood of 3%.

-- Charlotte Arnold, Founder and Director of
The Program for Female Offenders, with
Leslie Berlin, graduate student in Social
Work at the University of Pittsburgh and
an intern at The Program

RESOURCES:

NATIONAL ROUNDTABLE ON MOTHERS IN PRISON, a project of Legal Services for Prisoners with Children, 1317 18th St., San Francisco CA 94107; (415) 824-1070, contact: Ellen Barry. Directory of programs for female offenders was updated in 1986.

"Legal Issues of Female Inmates - a Report", by the Smith College School of Social Work, for the National Institute of Corrections, 1982.

Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, "Prisoners in 1986", May 1987.

Adult Female Offenders and Institutional Programs - A State of the Art Analysis, by Dr. T.A.Ryan, US Dept. of Justice, National Institute of Corrections, Feb. 1984.

"The New Female Offender - Reality or Myth", by Carol Smart, in *The Criminal Justice System and Women*, ed. Barbara Price and Natalie Sokoloff, Clark Boardman Company, Ltd., 1982.

OLDER WOMEN

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:

Social and health services should enable the older woman to live with dignity and security. This would include, but is not limited to:

- housing that provides security and comfort
- home health and social services, with the full range of alternatives to institutional care
- preventive health care services
- public transportation for the housebound, in urban AND rural areas
- continuing education
- geriatric education in training of all medical personnel
- elimination of inequities in social security benefits, including recognition of economic value of homemaking
- passage of the Displaced Homemakers bill
- phase-out of mandatory retirement

Some representative data:

- Between 1960 and 1980, the number of Americans over the age of 65 increased by 54% (while the population as a whole increased by only 26%).
- The "Old old", those over 85, increased by 141% during that same time period, and is the fastest growing age cohort in the U.S. 70% of the old old are women.
- Two thirds of single elderly women live alone, not only because women as a group live longer than men, but because women tend to marry men older than themselves. The majority of elderly men live with their spouse.
- The median annual income of single elderly women (1984) was $6,500 ($4,420 for Black women, $4,820 for Hispanic women, $10,400 for all over-65 men). Of the 4 million elderly living in poverty, 75% are women.
- Women are the majority of care-givers. Adult female relatives (mostly wives or daughters) provide 62% of long-term care. Because of declines in both fertility and mortality, the "average" woman today will spend 17 of her adult years caring for a dependent child, and 18 years as the daughter of an elderly parent.
- In the 1980 census, there were 11.5 million displaced homemakers, of whom 79% were over 45 years of age, 22% had dependent children, and 39% were living in poverty. (A Dept. of Labor survey in 1976 found that there were only 4.1 million, but it is not clear whether the DOL data were accurate. The 1980 census is the most recent and most reliable source of data on displaced homemakers.)
- 54% of all women between the ages of 45 and 64 work outside the home, 77% of them in non-professional occupations, principally clerical, sales, service, or factory work. Older women (over 45) make up 12% of the labor force (1986).
- In spite of the passage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act in 1967, which protects workers between ages 40 and 70, many employers continue to regard older women as less desirable as employees, discounting skills gained in volunteer work or unpaid work in the home, and preferring recent high school or college graduates in "entry-level" jobs.
- Between fiscal 1981 and 1988, federal spending for social services and programs that serve the disadvantaged (including the elderly) was cut 54%, making a $44.7 billion hole in the "safety net". Housing subsidies have been cut by $32 billion since 1981. Housing assistance for the elderly and the handicapped has been cut by 47%.

We can expect the statistics to get worse as long as the federal government continues to abdicate responsibility for the more disadvantaged of its citizens. Nevertheless, women themselves have been organizing on older women's issues:

The Older Women's League was founded in 1980, and is now a healthy 17,000 strong, with 100 chapters in 35 states. More and more, OWL is the voice of older women where policy is being made. OWL's current agenda focuses on Social Security and pension equity, access to affordable health care, support for family caregivers, jobs and employment discrimination, and federal budget priorities. Though the statistics on older women's poverty and other problems show we are still at the beginning of bringing about the changes outlined in the Plan, OWL has contributed to a growing public awareness of the issues, and clearer definition of the problems at all levels.

Another important development in the last decade is the **Women's Initiative of the American Association of Retired Persons.** Launched in 1983, along with Initiatives on Worker Equity, Health Care, and Minority Affairs, the Women's Initiative draws on the resources provided by AARP's 27 million members and its general committment to quality of life for all older Americans. The Women's Initiative newsletter serves as a clearinghouse for all national women's organizations concerned with women over 50. Another newsletter, *Network News*, is sponsored by the International Federation on Aging in cooperation with AARP, and provides a global link for midlife and older women, with a global perspective.

The National Coalition on Older Women's Issues was founded in 1981 to bring together women's and other organizations concerned with the status of midlife and older women. The coalition includes church groups, civic organizations, professional associations, research centers, educators, and individuals. The Coalition holds Public Policy Forums, produces legislative analyses on current issues, conducts (through its member organizations) public education on the status and needs of older women, and serves a basic networking function for member groups to share information and plan strategies (such as lobbying campaigns) .

The National Council on the Aging, founded in 1950, has always served as a resource for advocacy, publications, and research on aging. In the early 80's they began two programs of interest to women:

••**"The Family Caregivers Program was begun in 1981**, and in 1987 a new membership group on Family Caregivers of the Aging was instituted. The Program trains local service provider agencies to form support groups for family caregivers of older individuals and to make referrals to other support groups.

••**"Facing Our Future" is an educational program for mid-life women** which stimulates participants to look at their situation realistically and to plan for a desirable future, whether they are working inside or outside the home. The program provides information on health, pensions, Social Security, IRA's, financial planning, and employment, and promotes development of positive attitudes about aging, emotional concerns, planning skills, and formation of mutual support networks to bring about beneficial change. There is a 195-page leadership manual, first produced in 1985.

The Displaced Homemakers Network was founded in 1975 (see also *Homemakers*), by Tish Sommers and Laurie Shields, to increase economic self-sufficiency options for displaced homemakers and to influence public policy. Since so many of the women they were trying to serve were mid-life or older women, DHN has developed expertise and information in many areas of interest to older women, including pension equity, vocational training, and self-employment. DHN publishes a Directory of Programs for Displaced Homemakers, listed by state.

The National Commission on Working Women (see also *Employment*) was founded in 1977 to do advocacy and public education about the "80%", the nearly 40 million women workers who are in non-professional occupations , 14 million of whom are over 45. In their research and policy development they have included many older women's issues: age discrimination in employement, occupational health, and images of older women on television.

Prime Time Women: In 1986, the Commission conducted a survey of TV programming, called "Prime Time Women", to track changes in the frequency and quality of TV images of older women. **The study found that the number of older women (over 50) appearing in various roles on TV has tripled since 1975, and is now 20% of all female characters in TV land. Of these newly numerous "golden girls", 26% are portrayed as being millionaires, 68% are middle class, 5% are working class, and none are poor.** In the real world, 38% of all women are over 50, and only . 2% of women over 50 have annual incomes over $75,000. But, according to the report, older women are not only more visible, they are no longer stereotyped in a negative manner. Some older women are seen as very active and positive, such as Jessica Fletcher (played by Angela Lansbury) in "Murder, She Wrote". The report was written by Sally Steenland and is available from the Commission. The Commission also conducts Media Watch training workshops for older women's groups.

Last, but far from least, there is **The Gray Panthers Network**, founded in 1974 by Maggie Kuhn. Maggie was a community activist in Philadelphia who was forced to leave her job at age 65. She met with a few others like herself and they decided to organize to change laws and attitudes that arbitrarily shove people aside just because they are old. "Gray Panthers" was a tag name used by the Philadelphia press because of the confrontational style Maggie and her crew had to adopt in order to be heard. Today, Gray Panthers is 50,000 strong and nationwide, working in hundreds of communities on issues of poverty, housing (including nursing home reform), and health care. The Gray Panthers Project Fund is the tax-deductible branch of the organization.

-- Mary Kercherval Short, Secretary for
Women's Concerns, Women's Division of
the Board of Global Ministries of the
United Methodist Church

RESOURCES:

Older Women's League, 1325 G St. NW Lower Level, Washington DC 20005, (202) 783-6686.

American Association of Retired Persons/Women's Initiative, 1909 K St. NW, Washington DC 20049. (202) 872-4700. Elisabeth Mullen, Staff Specialist.

National Coalition on Older Women's Issues, 2401 Virginia Ave. NW, Washington DC 20037. (202) 466-7834. Publishes a Resource Directory on Midlife and Older Women.

National Council on the Aging, 600 Maryland Ave. SW, Washington DC 20024. (202) 479-1200. Jane Deren is project director for "Facing Our Futures".

Displaced Homemaker's Network, 1010 Vermont Ave. NW Suite 817, Washington DC 20005. (202) 628-6767, 888.

National Commission on Working Women (merged in 1987 with Wider Opportunities for Women), 1325 G St. NW lower level, Washington DC 20005. (202) 737-5764.

Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington DC 20002. (202) 488-5662.

Gray Panthers Network, 311 S. Juniper St. Suite 601, Philadelphia PA 19107. (215) 382-3300.

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RAPE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

•revision of criminal codes to include all types of sexual assault and both sexes as victims or perpetrators •past sexual conduct of victim should not be allowable as evidence •no more corroboration should be reqired than for any other kind of violent assault •establishment of rape crisis centers •confidentiality of rape crisis center records should be assured •bilingual and bicultural information resources where appropriate •public school programs on rape-prevention and self-defense •permanent funding for the National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape (within NIMH) •victim compensation

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Rape directly impacts 2,502,000 women every year in the United States. Millions of other women are -- each year -- coping with childhood sexual abuse, prior rapes, sexual harrassment, indecent assault and other forms of sexual assault. The anti-rape movement is not yet twenty years old. In 1977, the national rape crisis network did not yet exist. Reliable summary data on the changes in the last ten years and the situation overall is not easily available. But here is what I could find on: legislative changes, sexual assault programs, federal funding for rape crisis centers (rccs), and suggested future directions.

One new element in the picture, which has emerged since 1977, is the recognition of the pervasiveness of "date rape" and incest. We suspect now that 1 in 5 college age women will be raped by a date, that 1 in 3 women are sexually abused before age 18, and that a married woman has a 1 in 7 chance of being raped by her husband. Demands for services have increased significantly and many rccs now provide services to as many child victims as they do for adults. 85-90% of child sexual assault is by someone known to the child.

LEGISLATIVE CHANGE:

In 1977, no state permitted a wife to file a rape charge against her husband. In 1980, in a landmark case in Oregon, a wife brought charges against her husband, and precipitated a review of criminal codes across the country. As of 1987, 25 states have removed interspousal tort immunity or made spousal rape or abuse a specific but separate crime, in many cases with a statute of limitations shorter than that for non-marital rape.

In 1982, Pennsylvania passed the first statute protecting the confidentiality of rape crisis counselor's records. 18 states have since passed similar legislation, though confidentiality statutes are still being challenged in the courts as unconstitutional.

In 1977, admissibility of vicitm's sexual history as evidence in a rape trial was limited only in North Dakota. As of 1980 (the most recent data available) 30 states and the District of Columbia disallow such evidence. The other 20 states allow such evidence under various circumstances.

RAPE CRISIS CENTERS AND OTHER SEXUAL ASSAULT SERVICES

The first rape crisis center was established in 1969 in Berkley CA. By 1974, there were 61 rccs in 27 states. In 1979, there were over 900 community based rape-related services, not all of them centers. As of 1987, there are thousands of programs providing services to sexaul assault survivors and/or conducting public education and prevention programs. There are programs in every state, D.C., and all major cities.

The size and scope of these programs varies greatly. Some have only one or two staff people, while several large centers (Rhode Island, Austin TX, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh PA) employ 20-30 people and utilize more than a hundred volunteers. An eight-state study in 1985 found that the average number of workers was 4 - 5 paid staff and 20-30 volunteers. Most centers provide not only services to victims, but also prevention education in the public schools, awareness training for police and emergency room personnel, and programs for teachers and mental health professionals, as well as working for legislative change and serving on community task forces. However, many of the newer programs, which are specifically designed for children, have emerged in response to the increased availability of funding, and do not have a feminist perspective. Therefore their prevention work is not grounded in an analysis of power relationships and the politics of sexual assault.

No comprehensive data are available on how many rccs provide bi-lingual services in areas populated by non-English speaking people, nor is there good data on how many clients are served by rccs.

FEDERAL FUNDING;

The National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape (NCPCR) was housed within NIMH. In 1985, NCPCR was eliminated, and "Rape" was moved into the Division of Violent and anti-Social Behavior and re-titled The Family Violence and Sexual Assoult Center. This represents a dilution of focus. From its founding in 1976, NCPCR had tracked and made available information about community-based centers as well as summary data. The Division of Violent Behavior keeps a list of sexual assault services nationwide, but does not track or summarize data about what these services do, how many clients they serve, etc.

THE NATIONAL COALITION

The National Coalition Against Sexual Assault (NCASA) was founded in 1978 and serves as a network for rccs nationwide. NCASA recieves no federal funding. Membership dues and annual conferences fund the organization and all positions are unpaid. Federal money is increasingly available to rccs themselves, however. Some of this came in 1980, through Title XX, and additional funds came in 1981-2 through the Preventive Health Block Grant monies. This source is still a significant portion of the funding for many centers across the country. More recently, Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) funds have been distributed. According to the Dept. of Justice, a total of $9,884,313 went to 465 sexual assault programs in 1986 (nearly 25% of 1986 funds disbursed.) But states have control over allocations, and some states receiving VOCA funds have made no VOCA money available to rape crisis programs.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS:

We must continue to emphasize the need not only for more prevention programs but also that these programs be grounded in a feminist analysis of sexual violence. Prevention must focus on attitudinal change regarding men, women, power, intimacy, dependency, sexuality, and vulnerability.

We also need better tracking of information on rape-related legislation and services, so that we can more accurately educate the public about the magnitude of the problem and more effectively generate funds for programs.

Another critical need is for the creation of feminist-based offender treatment programs, which would involve the re-working of power and control issues, and provide long-term treatment and therapy. Funding needs to be made available for long-term treatment and sentencing must demand lengthy participation by convicted rapists and molesters.

And we must prevent the co-optation of expertise in the area of sexual assault, keeping the anti-sexual assault movement grounded in the authority of survivor's voices, in the experience of rape crisis workers and in the theoretical framework of feminsm. This has always been a struggle, but we are now at a place where the pervasivenss of sexual assault is finally becoming common knowledge, and more involvement by the traditional medical/therapeutic/educational community is inevitable. But without an awareness of the power dynamics within the helping relationship, the traditional treatment approaches tend to perpetuate the rape, adding all the "little rapes" feminists identified and have worked a long time to eliminate from the treatment of rape survivors.

So the work of educating the legal, medical, and law enforcement communities is more important than ever, as is the need to keep rape crisis work grounded in our history, our feminism and the knowledge that comes from the voices of rape and incest survivors.

- Robin Connors, Counseling Coordinator at Pittsburgh Action Against Rape, *with help from*: Mary Beth Carter, Judy Condo, and Fern Ferguson (NCASA), Michelle Branch-Dorsey (National Criminal Justice Reference Service), Scott Beard (National Org. for Victim Assistance), and Sue Cameron, Cheryl Hall, Bev Harris-Elliot, Barb Nissley, and Georgeanne Zogas (PA Coalition Against Rape.)

RESOURCES:

ORGANIZATIONS:

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST SEXUAL ASSAULT, Sexual Violence Center, 1222 W. 31st St., Minneapolis, MN 55408. (612) 824-2854. Contact person: Nancy Biele (Pres. of Board)

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR VICTIM ASSISTANCE, 717 D St. NW, Washington DC 20004, (202) 393-6682. Contact persons: Kathy Adams-House (program issues), Scott Beard (legislative issues).

PUBLICATIONS:

A Sourcebook on Chld Sexual Abuse, D. Finkelhor, Sage Publications, 1986.

Exemplary Rape Crisis Programs: A Cross-Site Analysis and Case Studies, M. Harvey, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Washington DC 1985.

Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, & Sexual Harrassment, D.E.H.Russell, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, 1984

Stopping Sexual Assault in Marriage: A Guide for Women, Counselors, & Advocates., S. Wunsch, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York, 1986.

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REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

•full support for the 1973 Supreme Court decision guaranteeing reproductive freedom to women •publicly financed family-planning facilities including confidential services for teenagers •all funding of medical services should include abortion or pregnancy-related care •oppose involuntary sterilization •reform of laws discriminating against unwed parents and their children •sex education in all schools •special programs for teenage parents

BASIC FACTS:

•• One out of four pregnant women in the U.S. choose to terminate the pregnancy by abortion. Of these, 62% are under the age of 25, and 79% are unmarried (1984).

•• After 1973, the death rate from abortion dropped by 90%. Today, death from abortion is rare (less than 1 in 200,000, 7 times less than deaths from childbirth).

•• Public support for legal abortion remains high, even among religious groups officially opposed (e.g. 52% of Catholics approve of the *Roe v. Wade* decision). Opinion polls show support for a woman's right to choose has grown: in 1972, 64% were pro-choice, in 1982 the figure rose to 77%, and in 1987, the figure is still 77%.

WE STILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Roe v. Wade, though battered, is still intact. But the anti-abortion and anti-choice forces have a friend in the White House til 1988 and though they have been defeated again and again they keep trying. As a result of their efforts, Medicaid funding for abortions is still available in only 14 states, and is under attack in most of those 14. But all proposed Constitutional amendments to outlaw abortion have been defeated, in Congress, before they could get to the states. And 21 out of 22 statewide anti-abortion referenda have been defeated (1978-1986). Nov. 88 elections will see at least two states (Michigan and Colorado) with ballot questions to restore or prevent termination of Medicaid funding.

Pro-choice forces were instrumental in the recent defeat of Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. With Bork on the Court, *Roe v. Wade* would have been in serious jeopardy.

RCAR: The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) reports (Aug. 87) that most of its constituent groups have reaffirmed their committment to a woman's right to choose. These include The General Synod of the United Church of Christ (June 87), The General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalists (June 87), the 199th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA (June 87). There have been some anti-choice motions in local and state meetings of the United Methodists but these have mostly been tabled or voted down. In 1984, the National Ministries of the American Baptist Church withdrew from RCAR. RCAR and many of its constituent groups were active in the anti-Bork battle.

PPF: When Faye Wattleton assumed leadership of Planned Parenthood Federation in 1978, she was the first black and the first woman since Margaret Sanger (who founded PPF in 1916) to hold that position. Under Wattleton, PPF has become an active and very effective promoter of women's right to choose abortion, as well as being active on other fronts, such as teenage pregnancy, sex education, and leading the battle against the Reagan Administration's repeated attempts to impose a "sqeal rule", which would require that parents of teenagers seeking an abortion or family planning services be informed of that fact before the teenager is served. The activism has benefitted the organization. In 1978, PPF had 85,000 members and $117 million budget. Today it has 400,000 members and a $230 million budget, which includes funding for its 183 affiliates.

PPF has also worked vigorously to keep the Reagan Administration's anti-choice policies from being spread to the rest of the world - though this has been an uphill struggle. Most recently (1987), PPF's suit against AID was dismissed. The suit attempted to overturn the "Mexico City" policy - first announced at a World Population Conference in Mexico City in 1984, and mandating a cutoff of AID funds to international family-planning agencies. Family Planning International receives more than $18 million a year from AID, and serves 3.5 million clients worldwide (more than PPF serves in the US). PPF spends $270,000 annually on litigation, and spent $500,000 on ads denouncing the Mexico City policy.

CLINIC VIOLENCE - HOLDING THE LINE: The National Organization for Women has also spent precious resources fighting anti-abortion fanatics' attacks on abortion clinics. Clinic violence began in 1982 and has included total destruction of some clinics, by firebombs or arson, destruction of equipment, harrassment of clients, and terroristic threats and physical assaults against clinic workers. More than 500 clinic attacks have been reported, with 224 in 1985 alone, though the level of violence has dropped since then. In 1986, NOW brought a class action suit, on behalf of damaged clinics, against Joe Scheidler and the Pro-Life Action League *et al.* for perpetrating clinic violence all over the country. NOW won the first round in June 1987 when a District Court Judge in Chicago refused to dismiss the case. NOW is seeking a federal injunction so that Scheidler *et al.* can be cited for criminal contempt anywhere in the country that they may attack. A second Federal Court pro-choice victory in May, 87, in Philadelphia, awarded $97,000 damages to a clinic partially destroyed by the defendants. The victory confirmed use of RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) and anti-trust laws to prosecute these cases.

In a pro-active move, in 1987, NOW sponsored the first **Women of Color Reproductive Rights Conference**, a national meeting that brought together over 400 women of color to network and to establish that there is a pro-choice majority among women of color and to enter the pro-choice debate. Data was compiled on women of color and reproductive freedom. Resource materials and a video of the conference will be available from NOW in early 88, and the network that formed at the conference is on-going. Contact Loretta Ross at the NOW Action Center for more info.

TITLE X: Title X, the national family planning program, has remained unauthorized since 1984, which makes it vulnerable to anti-abortion maneuvering; it serves approximately 5 million low-income women and teenagers each year. Title X has repeatedly come under attack from anti-abortion forces within the Reagan Administration, and most recently (1987) Reagan ordered HHS Secretary Otis Bowen to issue new regulations which would prohibit Title X grantees from providing nondirective counselling, referrals, or any reference at all to abortion or abortion services. This move has already been prohibited by Congress earlier in '87. The new rules are in violation of medical ethics and the First Amendment. Critics of the new regs also note that defunding Title X grantees would promote more abortions, since Title X is estimated to prevent 800,000 unwanted pregnancies (and therefore 425,000 abortions) annually.

TEENAGE PREGNANCY: In 1987, an estimated 170,000 babies will be born to adolescent girls' age 17 or under. Most of these young women will be poor, will drop out of school, and will become dependent on public assistance. The problem disproportionately affects black communities. In 1985, **Girls' Clubs of America** undertook a project to prevent teenage pregnancy, and in 1987 got a set of grants totalling $370,000 to continue the program, which stresses building life-planning skills, career motivation, family communication, and resistance to peer pressure (especially pressure to become sexually involved). The money will be used to conduct a pilot program at three sites, working with about 1000 girls aged 12-17. Research findings will be used to design a model which will then be built into the Core Programs at GCA's 240 affiliates. GCA serves 250,000 girls aged 6-18 nationwide.

Another effective innovation is the school-based health clinic with an intervention model which significantly reduces teenage pregnancy. Because full service clinics give contraceptive information, the community must be brought into the debate and parents must understand the importance of their children getting responsible and reliable information. Some clinics have been attacked by anti-sex-education forces.

As of the Fall of 1987, there are 101 school-based clinics operating in the U.S. (from *School Based Clinic Update*, 1987). The first one was opened in 1970 in Dallas TX. These clinics, based on high school and junior high school campuses, offer comprehensive adolescent health care services in 61 different communities. Public funds (about 60% of their revenue) come from Maternal and Child Health Care Block Grants.

But there are 15,000 school districts nationwide. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, only five states (NJ, MD, NV, KS, RI) mandate sexuality education K-12, with age-appropriate curricula. An estimated 85-95% of American parents never discuss sexuality or birth control with their children. Only 10% of young people receive timely (before 10th grade) sexuality education. A Planned Parenthood Poll (by Harris) in 1986 surveyed 3000 teenagers nationwide. 40% of those surveyed had never had a single sexuality education course in school. Of those with some, only 35% felt they had comprehensive education (comprehensive includes contraceptive information).

In 1974, Planned Parenthood launched National Family Sexuality Education Month to encourage parents in their role as sexuality educators. Each year the October events have attracted a larger number of co-sponsors, and in 1987, over 38 national organizations contributed to nationwide programming, workshops, films, radio public service campaigns, teen health conferences and other events highlighting the need for sexuality education.

Recent research has established that the most important factor in teenage pregnancy is not ignorance of sexuality, though that is a factor, but lack of career motivation or any sense of other options, plus ignorance about the true consequences of early child-bearing. In study after study, across cultural and economic groups, young women with serious educational and career goals are less likely to become pregnant than girls with lower motivation.

Women's Action Alliance is compiling a state-by-state directory of teen pregnancy prevention programs, with information on effective intervention models, and profiles of important research. The Teenage Pregnancy Prevention Directory should be ready by mid-to-late '88.

-- with info. from organizations listed below

RESOURCES:

Center for Population Options, 1012 14th St. NW Suite 1200, Washington DC 20005. (202)347-5700.

Girls' Clubs of America, 205 Lexington Ave. New York NY 10016. (212) 689-3700.

National Abortion Rights Action League, 1101 14th St. NW, 5th Floor, Washington DC 20005. (202) 371-0779. NARAL has 34 state affiliates.

National Organization for Women, 1401 New York Ave. NW Ste. 800, Washington DC 20005. (202) 347-2279.

National Black Women's Health Network, 1237 Gordon St. SW, Atlanta GA 30310. (404) 753-0916.

Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, 100 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington DC, 20002.

Support Center for School Based Clinics, 5650 Kirby, Houston TX 77005. (713) 664-7400. A branch of the Center for Population Options.

Sex Education and Information Council of the US (SEICUS) 32 Washington Place, New York NY 10003, (212) 673-3850.

Women's Action Alliance, 370 Lexington Ave. New York NY 10017. (212) 532-8330.

RURAL WOMEN

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS

•public programs to meet special problems of isolation, poverty and underemployment in rural areas •include farm wives and widows in data on employment of women •farm wives should have same ownership and inheritance rights as spouse •investigation of human rights violations in working conditions of seasonal and migratory workers •inclusion of all racial and ethnic minorities in programs for rural women.

TRENDS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

Rural American Women formed in 1979, with the leadership of Jane Threatt, and exists today as a small federation of rural women's organizations. President Judy Voehringer of Pennsylvania and Board of Directors Chair Helen Vinton of Louisiana continue to provide the leadership that lends visibility and support to struggling rural women. In the early 80's, Jane Threatt founded In Our Own Way as a means of bringing together rural women in an international exchange of culture and experience.

The earlier trend in the national movement of rural women was to be centered in Washington DC, and solicit membership from around the country. The work was centered on documentation, leadership training, and national consciousness-raising.

The current emphasis is on exchange and mutual support between women already struggling in their local communities - more of a decentralized communication network with little or no staffing and moderate, if not small, budgets.

A noticeable trend is the continued and growing presence of women in leadership positions of rural organizations and their conscious selection of a style of development that is quite different from that of their male counterparts. Their plans are less grandiose, their leadership more consultative, their style more "hands-on" and somewhat less consumptive of resources.

For example: **Rural Advancement Fund / National Sharecroppers, Inc.** has just celebrated its 50th year, under the direction for the last ten years of Kathryn Waller, a brilliant administrator whose presence has made a startling difference. An original founder, Fay Bennett, an early executive director, provided many local organizations around the country with techinical assistance, financial and inspirational support. Fay had also built a national reputation for effectiveness and a stable financial institution for national rural efforts. A subsequent male leadership reversed the direction, depleted their endowment funds, ended outreach, built a large centralized campus, ran afoul of government guidelines and nearly destroyed the organization.

Kathryn Waller put her hands to the till in 1977, and has rebuilt a solid financial base, and a national and international staff and reputation. The work is critical not just to women. Their main efforts center around preventing loss of farm land, especially that of minorities, exposing and solving the depletion of the genetic pool especially in food crops (a major cause of world hunger), and insuring justice in local courtrooms through a Friend in Court Program.

In Appalachia at least four women's organizations started in or about 1977. The climate created by the women's movement enabled women previously trained to community action through the poverty programs to start and fluorish through local struggles.

In Rose's Creek, TN, Marie Curillo and Dorothy Metzler founded the **Woodland Community Land Trust,** which has 501c2 IRS status and is able to buy and lease land. It is part of a regional Land Trust that is a 501c3, and which is bound legally to protect the land. The Woodland Trust has acquired and distributed a total of 75 acres: 9 acres for homes, 6 acres for gardens (both communal and private), 5 acres for cattle grazing, 3 acres for an educational camp site, 2 acres for the young people to run their Christmas tree project, and the remainder in timber management for future housing development. The Land Trust provides soil tests, seeds, equipment (rental), and a portable saw mill for the community that doesn't live on the land. Says Marie: "In an area where corporations owned 80% of the land, women had a better sense of how collectively owning and caring for land properly would create a sense of community and sustained development."

Tilda Kemplan founded the **Mountain Community Child Care Center** in 1974 in White Oak TN. It has since grown into a remedial education program, literacy programs for adults, a maternal-infants program, a green house project, and currently is starting the Creative Learning Center for job training. Because Tilda was a teacher and cared about children, she understood "children-in-community" in a holisitc sense.

Marian Colette was the first director of **Mountain Women's Exchange,** founded in 1977. Located in Jellico TN, the organization was originally a coalition of seven women's groups in the mountains and now centers its work on an educational co-op and jobs-creation and training.

The Coal Employment Project, in Dumfries VA, was founded in 1977 by attorney Betty Jean Hall. Betty Jean and women miners in the Project obtained a United Mine Workers contract the following year, won a Family Leave clause in the contract, brought a class action suit which established the rights of women to work in the mines, and have since established a legal support system for women coal miners, won sexual harrassment and discrimination suits and conducted a Reproductive Health Study on women coal miners. The Project also organizes the annual conferences of Women in the Mines. Mining is one of the highest paying jobs there is for women in rural areas. Women began entering the mines in 1973; Betty Jean estimates that there were 3800 women miners in the peak years of 79-80, but as the last hired and first fired in a somehat depressed coal market, women miners have been laid off or let go to the point where the total number of women miners is now about 2600. The 10th annual Women in the Mines conference is coming up in 1988.

In 1979, **American Friends Service Committee** (AFSC), began operating a network of four **Women's Employment Projects** in Appalachia and North Carolina. All four sought to gain access for women to nontraditional employment. One has since closed, but left behind a battered women's shelter. The others are still operating, but have widened their scope to include the community and issues such as self-esteem, child care. As Arlene Wooley, national representative for the Women's Employment Project says, "What's "nontraditional"? When we started, we thought in terms of mining, construction, computers. The truth is, for women in these communities it's nontraditional to take any paying job outside the home."

There has also been an increase in the need for emergency food aid and emergency shelter . The HELP center (Help Empower Local People) at Big Stone Gap VA, has worked for years to bring together area churches to address the problem of hunger. Wooley says this work is finally bearing fruit, and churches from every denomination are "pulling together and working very hard, where before we couldn't even get in the door to give a presentation." The other centers are: New Employment for Women in Logan WV, and Women in the Work Force in High Point NC.

In Kempton, PA, in 1983, Judy Voehringer started **Rural Opportunities, Inc.**, a local development corporation for women. The emphasis is on economics, community and self-development through education and training.

In Louisiana, in 1969, Sister Anne Bizalion, a French Dominican nun and Lorna Bourg cofounded **Southern Mutual Help Ass'n Inc.** SMHA started the first medical and dental clinic serving 10,000 sugar cane plantation workers, the first adult basic education program for field workers, established a 3-acre rural center which houses work on the environment and study of pesticide exposure, rural arts, a housing program for hundreds of families, and small business development.

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Success stories for each section of the country can surely be told but should not be allowed to overshadow the grim realities that rural women face as mechanization displaces and devalues their work and worth, and farm bankruptcies threaten whole communities.

Farm bankruptcies have soared - 1987 will be the worst year ever, with 2500 farm foreclosures a week ! Distress calls to mental health clinics and hotlines have shot up, some by as much as 50% over last year.

Poverty among rural women in agriculture has worsened in the last decade. Health care is even harder to obtain and so-called safety nets are ineffective or non-existent. Problems of low wages and scarce or unaffordable child care are made worse for women in rural areas, where public transportation under "deregulation" is becoming even more limited, educational and vocational opportunites are frequently minimal or nonexistent, and the job market is severely depressed. Churches and non-profits can make only small in-roads into the structural and systemic poverty of rural women. But the true national scope of rural women's problems is not clear because data gathering has been so inadequate in rural areas, and this is especially true in relation to women.

–Lorna Bourg
NWCC Rural Women's Caucus Chair

RESOURCES:

COAL EMPLOYMENT PROJECT, 16221 Sunny Knoll Court, Dumfries VA 22026. (703)670-3416. Monthly newsletter for/by/about women miners.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND of the National Sharecroppers, Inc. , 2124 Commonwealth Ave., Charlotte NC 28205-5185.

WOODLAWN LAND TRUST, c/o Marie Cirillo, Clairefield TN 37715 (615)784-6832

SOUTHERN MUTUAL HELP ASS'N.,INC. P.O. Box 850, Jeanerette LA 70544, (318)367-3277.

NATIONWIDE WOMEN'S PROGRAM OF AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia PA 19102. (215) 241-7160.

GENERATIONS, The Newsletter of the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, 382 Longview Drive, Lexington KY 40503. Quarterly.

WOMEN OF THE LAND, a quarterly newsletter for rural women, published by Prairiefire Rural Action, 550 11th St. Des Moines, IA 50309. (515)244-5671. Denise O'Brien, Project Director.

FARM WOMEN IN THE U.S.: An Updated Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography, by Susan Bentley and Carolyn Sachs. Center for Rural-Women, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, Penn State University, University Park PA, 1984.

SEXUAL PREFERENCE

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•eliminate discrimination on the basis of sexual and affectional preference •reform penal codes and repeal laws that restrict private sexual behavior between consenting adults •legislation to prohibit consideration of sexual or affectional preference as a factor in child custody decisions

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Perhaps the "We are Everywhere" slogan of the lesbian contingent at the Houston Conference in 1977 said it all: lesbians have always been "everywhere", at least within the women's movement. Lesbians were already committed and involved, in 1977, in the full range of women's and gay issues and organizations. But continued vicious verbal and physical attacks against individual homosexuals, and legal challenges to anti-discrimination legislation, and more recently the AIDS crisis, has led to renewed alliances between lesbians and gay men, and so the trend has been for gay organizations to become lesbian/gay groups. That is, when lesbians want to work on gay issues, they work with gay men. On other feminist issues they work side-by-side with feminists.

The emergence in the late 70's and early 80's of Southern California Women for Understanding, and Bay Area Career Women (No. California) -- each with more than 1000 members -- shifted emphasis at that time to lesbian visibility and a self-defined lesbian agenda. At a conference with similar groups from other states, in San Francisco in 1987, the Association of Local (Lesbian) Organizations of Women (ALLOW) was formed. This organization is too new to permit any assessment of its effectiveness.

The following is a brief update on the three areas in the Sexual Preference section: discrimination, reform of sex laws, and custody/visitation rights.

DISCRIMINATION:

After a dozen years of citizen efforts to win passage of gay rights bills in at least twenty-four states, Rep. David Clarenbach successfully steered a bill through the Wisconsin legislature, and it was signed by the governor in 1982. A similar bill passed in California in 1984 was vetoed by Gov. Deukmejian. A few states have adopted anti-discrimination policies by executive order of their governors.

But a 1977 Dade County (FL) election which overturned its anti-discrimination ordinance started a national wave of anti-gay developments in which five cities followed Dade County, before Seattle voters, in 1978, held the line 63% - 37% against opponents of its gay rights ordinance. Since then more than a dozen local anti-discrimination ordinances have been passed and challenges to them resisted. In California (1978) and Texas (1982) attempts to legalize discrimination against gays were resoundingly defeated.

Since 1975, when Bella Abzug introduced it for the first time, a federal gay rights bill has been introduced in every session, and has even gained supporters, in spite of the Reagan Administration.

Several class action suits, including two that got to the Supreme Court, have been favorable to gays. For example: The Lesbian Rights Project brought suit against State Farm Fire and Casualty for charging lesbian and gay couples a higher premium on their homeowner's insurance because they were unmarried. The case was settled out of court when State Farm agreed to change their policy nationwide. In another important case, a ruling by U.S. District Judge Thelton Henderson bars the Defense Department from requiring expanded security investigations of lesbian or gay civilians seeking security clearances to work for private defense contractors. Henderson's 46-page Order said the Defense Department's treatment of lesbians and gay men "reflects irrational prejudice and outmoded stereotypes and notions about lesbians and gay men, not rational consideration." This suit set national precedent.

SEX LAW REFORM:

Until the 1970's, only one state (Illinois, 1961), had decriminalized private sexual activity between consenting adults. Half the states have now done so. In 24 states, sodomy is still a misdemeanor or a felony. Though in most of these states, the law applies equally to heterosexual behavior, the law is rarely enforced against heterosexuals.

Sex law reform suffered a tremendous setback in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (U.S. Supreme Court, 1986). This was a test of the Georgia sodomy law, which applies to both heterosexuals and homosexuals. The Georgia Attorney General cited the opinion of U.S. Circuit Judge Robert Bork in the Dronenberg case that private, consensual gay sex is not protected by the Constitution or privacy statutes. The Supreme Court ruled for the state of Georgia, but the four justices who disagreed with that decision found it "revolting, if the grounds upon which it was laid down have vanished long since, and the rule simply persists from blind imitation of the past." The issue is far from settled. Campaigns to decriminalize sodomy, state by state, have been reactivated.

CHILD CUSTODY:

Attorneys who have studed judicial decisions in lesbian mother custody cases say there is no pattern or reason to them. Cases where one would expect the mother to win, are lost, and vice versa. Donna Hitchens, founder of the Lesbian Rights Project, put together the Lesbian Mother Litigation Manual, to assist attorneys in educating court personnel in developing trial strategies. Other support for lesbian mothers is available from the National Lesbian Mothers Legal Defense Fund, in Seattle.

FAMILY BENEFITS:

As the movement for comparable worth has grown in the 80's, attorneys and public officials have begun to examine fringe benefits as a pervasive from of employment discrimination against "non-traditional" families. Health insurance, dental coverage, parenting leave, pension benefits, paid bereavement leave - benefits taken for granted by married employees - represent a large proportion of their total compensation. When these benefits are not extended to partners and dependents of lesbian/gay couples, they are in effect paid a considerably lower wage rate on the basis of marital status and sexual orientation. About half a dozen local cases have been won, enacting benefits for domestic partners or spousal equivalents (mostly in California and New York) and these cases lay the ground work for future gains. More information on strategies for extending employment benefits can be found in *Recognizing Lesbian and Gay Families*, by Teresa Lynn Friend and Pamela Liberty (published by Lesbian Rights Project).

THE AIDS CRISIS:

Though lesbians are one of the lowest risk groups for AIDS, lower even than heterosexual women, lesbians who have tried to donate blood for AIDS victims have been turned down because they are gay! And in 1987, Mr Helms introduced a rider on the appropriations bill for Labor, Health, Human Services, and Education. The bill appropriated a total of $129 billion, with $310 million earmarked for AIDS education. The Helms rider, which passed 94 - 2 (only Weicker and Moynihan voted against it), denies federal money for AIDS educational materials or programs directed to at-risk homosexual populations because these materials are 1) sexually explicit and 2) they could be interpreted as promoting or encouraging homosexuality. Medical professionals have protested these restrictions on public educational programs which have been very effective in reducing the incidence of AIDS. They have also raised the obvious question of how to educate the public about a sexually transmitted disease without talkng about sex.

Clearly, we have a long way to go, even though the years since 1977 have seen some very real improvement, both in public attitudes and effective organizing by the gay community. Movies such as *Personal Best*, and *Lianna* , both featuring lesbians in a relatively positive way (they're still alive at the end), have been very well received. And the lesbian community has developed many institutions that give support and encouragement to individual women when the going gets rough. The recent Gay Rights March in Washington DC (Oct. 87) not only drew the largest crowd ever (estimates range from 500,000 to 800,000) but was sympathetically covered by *The New York Times* and other major media.

– Del Martin, author
of *Lesbian / Woman* (see below)

RESOURCES:

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE, 1517 U St. NW, Washington DC 20009.

LESBIAN RIGHTS PROJECT, 1370 Mission St. SanFrancisco CA 94103.

LAMBDA LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND, 132 W.43rd St., New York NY 10036.

NATIONAL COALITION OF BLACK LESBIANS AND GAYS, 930 F St. NW, Washington DC 20004.

FEDERATION OF PARENTS & FRIENDS OF LESBIANS & GAYS, P.O. BOX 24565, Los Angeles CA 90024.

LESBIAN MOTHERS' NATIONAL DEFENSE FUND, P.O. Box 21567, Seattle WA 98111.

Lesbian/ Woman, by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, Bantam (originally published 1972, updated 1982)

Lesbian Connection, P.O. Box 811, East Lansing MI, 48826 (monthly news, articles, reader developed).

Sinister Wisdom, P.O. Box 3252, Berkeley CA 94703. (bi-monthly, in-depth lesbian-feminist theory)

Gay Community News, 62 Berkley St. Boston MA 02116. (weekly, best national source of current information about gay and lesbian issues and events.)

STATISTICS

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:

• accurate assessment of impact on women of federal programs, through collection and analysis of data based on sex from all federal departments and agencies • aggressive efforts to reduce the Census Bureau undercount of women from racial and ethnic minorities

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RECENT TRENDS IN FEDERAL DATA COLLECTION:

In its de-regulatory zeal, passion for "privatization", and intensified emphasis on national security, the Reagan administration in both terms has cut back, sold off, or terminated many data-gathering agencies and information services of the federal government. Losses to the public include cancellation of over 4000 informational pamphlets formerly available at low cost from the Government Printing Office, cut-back in hours and services of the Library of Congress, including elimination of the National Referral Center (which supplied references for researchers in the natural and social sciences), ending publication of the MMWR (Mortality and Morbidity Weekly Report, published by the Centers for Disease Control and widely used by physicians in tracking infectious and other diseases), and dropping a wide range of publications from the National Center for Education Statistics.

Though some private agencies (such as the *New England Journal of Medicine* in the case of the MMWR) have rescued the "information orphans" of the government, the resulting products have generally carried less information and have had a higher price tag. In many cases, there has been no rescuer.

These examples do not affect women more than men, but they indicate the wholesale nature of the decline in the government's commitment to public information services.

ALA ORGANIZES C G I: In 1986, in response to these and other threats to information flow and citizen access, the American Library Association, which is 70% women, has taken the lead in organizing the Coalition on Government Information, which brings together a wide variety of consumer, activist, academic, legal, and journalistic organizations for whom information is life blood.

BUREAU OF CENSUS (BoC): The 1990 Census questionnaire will have 30 fewer questions, thanks to budget cutting, and some of these lost questions pertain directly to women and minorities. But other developments at the BoC and the Women's Bureau (of the Dept. of Labor) have been progressive. The 1990 Census *will* show at least twelve apprenticeships by sex, and BoC has discontinued its use of the term "household head" (which was assumed to be the husband), and instead uses the term "householder", without assumption as to sex or marital status, in the Current Population Surveys, which survey 60,000 households per month. Data tapes for CPS and other BoC data (for1940 to 1980) , are now available to the public at the University of Wisconsin.

Another innovation at BoC is the Survey on Income and Program Participation (SIPP), which will provide longitudinal data on how women (and men) respond to short term crises (such as divorce, or unemployment) as well as time- use data (such as volunteer work, and use of services).

In 1980, BoC issued the first volume of data which was wholly on women. Data on women had been available, but were scattered throughout the hundreds of survey reports and databases that the Census maintains. In 1986, Suzanne Bianchi, a demographer at BoC, published *Women in Transition*, a 320-page documentation of women's lives, covering a wide array of social and demographic changes, including divorce rates, fertility, labor force participation, educational attainment, and child care and child support, and drawing on the 1980 census and previous and subsequent national surveys.

COUNTING HOUSEWORK: The issue of including women's unpaid household work in the GNP has been around since the early 30's, when the GNP (Gross National Product) was being developed as a statistical tool. It got a big boost in 1976, when the Measures of Economic Well-Being Branch was started in the Bureau of Economic Analysis (Dept. of Commerce). But 1981 budget cuts terminated the program. Janet Peskin, at the Congressional Budget Office, has continued to track the issue and reports that, using the "current market value" method of placing a dollar value on unpaid work in the home, "housework" was worth $752 billion or 42% of GNP, in 1986.

The Wages for Housework Campaign is an international organization that has promoted recognition of women's work, esp. child care, since its founding in the U.S. in 1977. In 1985, in Nairobi, they won inclusion of a paragraph in the Forward Looking Strategies Document (Para. 120), calling for all governments to count women's work in the GNP. This was ratified by the UN in November, 1985.

RESOURCES:

Coalition on Government Information, c/o American Library Association, 110 Maryland Ave. NE Suite 101, Washington DC 20002. (202) 547-4440.

Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, .2437 15th St. NW. Washington DC 20009.

Wages for Housework, PO Box 11795, Phila. PA 19101. (215) 668-9886.

US Bureau of the Census, Center for Demographic Studies, Washington DC 20233. Contact: Suzanne Bianchi.

WOMEN, WELFARE & POVERTY

NATIONAL PLAN GOALS:
•all welfare reform proposals should be examined for their impact on women •correct social security and retirement systems for discrimination against women •public education programs about the realities of welfare, poverty and the plight of the aged and disabled, single parent families •increase funding for income transfer programs, with living standard minimums recommended by the National Academy of Sciences •opposition to "workfare" proposals •no family living standard should be lower than half the median family income level •eliminate discrimination in employment of welfare recipients •equal pay for work of comparable worth and better opportunites for non-traditional jobs •unionization of women workers •quality child care •financial aid for education should not reduce eligibility for public assistance

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OVERVIEW:
Poverty in general, but especially among women and children, has deepened and spread in the last decade, while programs such as Food Stamps, low-income housing, supplemental food for preganant women and infants have been reduced by over $50 billion since 1980. The "feminization of poverty" has been well documented:

•• The poverty rate among women is 15%, compared to 10% for men.

•• 11% of white women, 32% of black women, and 25% of Hispanic women lived below the poverty level in 1984. 70% of the elderly poor are women.

•• One third of families maintained by women (in 1984) lived below the poverty level.

•• The median annual income of adult women in 1984 was $6900, compared to $15,600 for men. For full-time, year-round workers, the median for women is $15,400, while for men it is $24,000.

•• 16% of families are headed by women with no spouse present, but they account for half of all poor families. Women and children together account for 78% of all persons living in poverty.

•• 9% of adult white women are single head of house, but the figure is 30% for black women and 16% for Hispanic women. Half of all families headed by a black or Hispanic woman alone live in poverty.

•• Especially at risk are teenage mothers, half of whom raise their children as single parents, and disabled women of any age (see *Disabled Women*).

All of these statistics derive from the fact that women tend to be segregated into a small range of low-wage occupations; they have a disproportionate responsibility for child-rearing (which tends to interrupt their work history as well as making it harder for them to pursue educational or professional goals) and no matter what job they do or how well qualified they are, they make less than men. They are less likely to have pensions or health benefits, and their Social Security payments are smaller because their life-long wage pattern was lower.

Most low income women welcome the new focus on making long term education and skills training available to them. They prefer having choices with incentives, rather than compulsive programs with penalties. They would like training to be accessible as to location and hours, and they want child care support. They want to have input into the design, development, implementation and operation of the programs. They are willing to partner with others. They want to stop being recipients of services and become participants. They support self-help, community based and comprehensive approaches to solving female poverty. They are opposed to social service, dependency oriented programs that focus on the individual and not on the communities, where poor women predominantly live. They need the opportunity to build their own organizations and define the solutions to their own problems.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM REWARDS PASSIVITY:
Work disincentives built into the present welfare system penalize those who want to be self-sufficient. This is true for men as well as women but it affects women in more complex ways because of their greater role in child-rearing. For example, most publicly funded daycare centers require that a woman must have a certain (low) income and be actively seeking work to be eligible for child care. The minute she finds a job, her income will go over the limit and she will become ineligible for the child care, yet she wont be making enough to afford private (and much more expensive) child care. Thus she is discouraged from keeping any job she may find. Loss of medicaid benefits is another threat. Most of the jobs available to poor women do not have health benefits. Thus if she takes such a job, she loses health coverage for herself and her child, as well as the child care she needs so that she can work.

EMPOWERMENT IS THE ANSWER: Policy-makers and allies of low-income women are finally perceiving the connections between the feminization of poverty, teen pregnancy, homelessness, illiteracy, infant mortality, rape, battering, and single parent families. These connections call for comprehensive community development solutions, rather than the present social service model which deals only with individuals, and seeks to pull them "up and out", leaving the poverty community intact. Where poor women are supported in their efforts to find their own solutions, the public gets a triple benefit: the low-income women develop leadership skills, rebuild their neighborhoods, and become economically self-sufficient, and at the same time serve as role models for other low-income women. **Thus when low income women are percieved as partners in the effort to eliminate women's poverty in the U.S., they will bring their own issues to the table and these will be largely community development related: housing, child care, local work, parks.** They will organize at the neighborhood level, and will thus be able to make sure that programs are implemented as they should be.

Some good empowerment models:

Bertha Gilkey of Cochrane Gardens (St. Louis MO) and Kimmy Grey of Washington DC.: In1975-76, these two public housing tenant leaders began organizing other tenants and within a few years took over management of their public housing complexes, with outstanding results. Tenants got the new jobs created (e.g. in building services, child care, administration), tenants felt more responsible for their environment, crime and vandalism were dramatically reduced, and tenants acquired pride and dignity out of their accomplishment. Comprehensive programs are run by the tenants, in partnership with professionals. Now Gilkey and Grey are training tenants in complexes across the U.S. to take over the operation of their own public housing sites. In 1987, President Reagan signed the National Tenant Management Bill, with both these women watching.

Southern Mutual Help Association, in Jeanerette LA: This woman-run rural community organization, founded in 1979, subsequently turned back all government contracts and went from being in the red to $150,000 in the black by running a weekly bingo. They are now building the kind of housing the local people want, rather than what H.U.D. wants. Local banks and businesses assist with financing (see *Rural Women* for more on SMHA.)

Operation Life, LasVegas NV: Women who had been on welfare built this organization under Ruby Duncan's leadership, in the late 60's and early 70's. It now runs a community medical center, builds houses and sells them, rents to the local library, runs a senior center, works with a variety of new enterprises, and has a $1 million annual budget.

The Camden Urban Women's Center (Camden, NJ): These women established an incubator program where not only are the tenants being trained in tenant management by Bertha Gilkey, but tenants are learning to renovate their own and other public housing, to set up small businesses like landscaping, and to run their own child care program. The program became independent of Volunteers of America in Jan. 1987. They plan to take over one entire block and train homeless women and other women so they can renovate their own housing. The project includes comprehensive services. The Mayor started a low-income women's commission to advise him on their problems and to propose solutions.

In Williamsburg (Brooklyn, NY), Neighborhood Women own their own building, run their own college and comprehensive education program, and provide counseling. The program began in 1975, and acquired their present HQ in 1981. Low income women hold 80% of the jobs and 60% of the board membership. They are presently organizing their own local women's political club with a focus on implementing their Neighborhood Women's political agenda. This club brings together women from Black, Hispanic, Italian, and Polish low-income backgrounds. They have been the first group in their area to say that women's priorities must be a part of the neighborhood's agenda.

The Self-employment Investment Demonstration, which has been under development since 1983, went into operation in 1986, to test whether or not self-employment is a viable route to self-sufficiency for significant numbers of welfare recipients, and if so, what are the barriers that need to be removed and what support needs to be provided. **This program enables women on welfare to start businesses by keeping their welfare benefits while banking the money necessary to build and operate a business (income transfer).** There are good women-run organizations leading these efforts. Demonstration projects are underway in Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Mississippi, and New Jersey. Performance will be evaluated by Manpower Research Corp. in 1991. The program is administered by Ronnie Feit, at the Corporation for Enterprise Development. Funding is coming from States, Human Services, JTPA, Governors - a different mix in each state.

In 1987, the National Congress of Neighborhood Women held a Housing Options for Women Conference, in Camden NJ. Over 300 invited participants came, representing 36 states and 8 countries. This was a capacity-sharing event where low income women's housing strategies were exchanged. It was a good example of how low income women and professionals can work together.

Social Workers: The last ten years has seen a steady growth in awareness of the issues among social workers. At the annual meetings of the National Association of Social Workers, which is about 70% female, subjects such as empowerment, community development from the point of view of the whole range of "women's issues", and the need for more comprehensive services and training, have received ever-increasing attention, and a values-shift in the profession is well underway, though still incomplete.

-- Jan Peterson, National Coordinator,
National Congress of Neighborhood Women.

RESOURCES:

National Congress of Neighborhood Women, 249 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn NY 11211. (718) 388-6666.

Camden Urban Women's Center, Rosemary Jackson (609) 963-8180.

Corporation for Enterprise Development, 1725 K St. NW Ste.1401, Washington DC 20006. (202) 293-7963. Contact: Ronnie Feit

Urban Women Inc. 1121 North 8th Rm 406, St Louis MO 63106. (314) 241-0849. Bertha Gilkey , Pres.

Operation Life, 400 West Jackson St., Las Vegas NV 89106. (702) 648-0012. Ruby Duncan, Pres.

PART IV:
NOTEWORTHY BUT NOT IN THE PLAN

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR CHANGING MEN

"In the next three minutes across the United States:
- One woman will be raped...
- Ten women will be battered...
- $46,000 will be spent on pornography...
- $2 million will be spent on the military...

.... by men."

The above quote was taken not from a radical feminist ("man-hating") newspaper, but from the organizing materials of **BrotherPeace,** a project of **The Ending Men's Violence Taskgroup** of **The National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM).** BrotherPeace began in 1984, when a group of NOCM members who had been or were doing counselling for batterers (usually in conjunction with a Women's Shelter) were brought together by John Stoltenberg, to talk about men's violence, and decided to take a firm and public stand against it.

They called themselves "Brother Storm" at first, but, predictably, there were problems with that name, so they changed it to "BrotherPeace", and began to organize a national event to call attention to men's violence, with the explicit intent of connecting personal violence (rape, wife abuse) with public and global violence (pornography, the arms race). Feminist women have been making these connections for years, of course, but when men do it, it takes a lot more courage, and it is news. In 1987, on October 17, BrotherPeace held it's third annual International Day of Actions to End Men's Violence, in 56 cities in the US and Europe, twice as many cities as had participated in 1986. About 60 organizations, including a few from Latin America and Asia, endorsed the Actions, which included addressing fraternity pledges, picketing local pornographers, hanging a banner challenging men's violence at a nationally televised football game, holding vigils, and an internationally coordinated 3 minutes of silence to recognize women who have died from, or suffered but survived, men's violence. NOCM members also used the Day of Action to raise money to support battered women's shelters. The date of these actions is always in October, to salute Domestic Violence Awareness Month (see Part III, *Battered Women*). BrotherPeace 1988 will be held on October 15.

NOCM began with the emergence of a dozen or so feminist men's groups around the country starting in the early 70's. By 1977, there were enough of them to hold a National "Men and Masculinity" Conference, which met annually thereafter and finally, in 1982, formally became The National Organization for Changing Men. NOCM is feminist, gay-affirmative, and works toward a more nonviolent, open, loving and cooperative model for masculinity and society. NOCM now has about 200 affiliated groups nationwide, and has links with similar groups in Canada, Europe, Australia, Latin America, and Asia. NOCM members have also been instrumental in starting "Men's Studies" courses (there are now at least 100 such, nationwide), which tend to be pro-feminist, and are engaged in enlightened analysis of men's roles, connecting personal and global violence, and uncovering definitions of masculinity that work to the detriment of both men and women.

Another benefit of NOCM is that it has fostered the development of a fluorishing array of feminist men musicians, song-writers, poets, artists, and comedians. Jeff Morgan, Fred Small, Romanovsky and Phillips are some of the performers who find a stongly appreciative audience at the annual NOCM gatherings. Theirs and other feminist men's recordings can be found in Ladyslipper Catalogue (see Part III, *Arts & Humanities*) The next national NOCM conference will be held in Seattle in June '88.

RESOURCES: National Organization of Changing Men (NOCM), c/o Mark Stevens, 8118 Rhea Ave., Reseda CA, 91335. or NOCM, P.O. Box 451, Watseka IL 60970. (815) 432-3010. Newsletter is called *Brother*. ***Changing Men*** (men's equivalent to *Ms.*), produced out of the Madison YMCA. 306 N. Brooks, Madison WI 53715. Monthly feminist articles and reviews on gender and politics. Highly recommended.

The Making of Masculinities: the New Men's Studies, edited by Harry Brod, Allen & Unwin, Winchester MA., 1987. 352 pp. 14 essays from as many disciplines, basically complementing Women's Studies, deconstructing Patriarchy and exploring possibilities for reconstructing "masculinities" along more life supporting lines.

THE ANTI-FEMINIST BACKLASH :

So there is a "Men's Movement", but not all the groups are feminist. In fact, it appears that a majority of them are not. Some are innocuous - e.g. "The Wildmen" organized around Robert Bly's ideas, where men "get in touch with their feelings" and come to grips with the relationship with the father - but are otherwise somewhat apolitical.

Other groups are not so innocent. **The National Congress for Men** is a large group of basically reactionary men who have, among other things, lobbied quite successfully for mandated joint custody in a number of states, starting with California in 1979. With mandated joint custody the judge is required to give joint custody to the father, even in the face of evidence about child abuse or other damaging behavior of the father. Feminist lawyers and activists who have had experience with this say the NCM men are frequently vindictive and vengeful toward women, and have poor (at best) perception of the real interests of the child. Judges frequently go along with them, and have developed an uncodified but common attitude that says the woman is just being vengeful and vindictive in accusing the man of child abuse (or whatever abuse), and that both she and the child are probably lying anyway. The misogynist smokescreens used by these men include other charming ideas, such as decriminalizing wife and child abuse and amnesty for all child-support defaulters, arguing that men are the really exploited and abused ones, and asserting "Father's Rights", by which they mean the father's "right" to control everyone else.

Resource: Information about NCM was supplied by NOCM and the National Center on Women and Family Law, Inc. 799 Broadway Rm 402, New York NY 10003.

WOMEN'S CENTERS

Women's Centers have been one of the mainstays of the women's movement. They were one of the earliest of the new institutions to arise, starting in the late 60's, and they provided meeting space, information & referrals, and programing that spurred the development of many of the other organizations that are working on Plan issues. Networking among center coordinators began at National Women's Studies Conferences (beginning about 1979).

But it was not until Sylvia Kramer took initiatives to hold a conference of Women's Centers on the East Coast that what was to become the National Association of Women's Centers got its start. That conference was held in 1982; another was held in 1984, at Grailville, in Loveland Ohio. Then came the founding convention, in May 86, in San Antonio TX. All this was done with no funding, but a high sense of purpose. The 1986 convention was attended by over 250 women, representing centers in 41 states. NAWC now has about 240 member centers and a "contact list" of about 400 centers.

In 1987, Kramer began trying to get a handle on just how many women's centers there were and after compiling dozens of lists, found that there are over 4000 women's centers in the U.S. "We dont really know what all these centers do", Kramer cautions, "We just know they all call themselves women's centers." Some have million dollar budgets, some are very tiny and work hard to keep one paid staff, but Kramer estimates that the average budget is about $150,000. While many centers, possibly the majority, are associated with schools (universities, 4-yr. and junior colleges) many are free-standing. Some women's centers are really battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, abortion clinics, or specialize in some other service. But the "classic" women's center is multi-issue, is more like a pan-feminist switchboard or clearinghouse, and is a resource for women working on a variety of issues to connect with each other and to organize for action.

For instance, the **Houston Area Women's Center,** which has an annual budget of about $1m, runs a shelter for battered women, a rape crisis center, a resource and referral office which handles 500 calls a month, and has an 8000 volume library which is used for research. The phenomenon of The Women's Center is complex and dynamic, and NAWC is seeking funding to do a comprehensive survey of the 4000 to find out the true scope and depth of Women's Centers' functioning. But one thing is clear: Women's Centers are primary social change agents, and there is no area of the National Plan that has not benefitted from the resources and organizing base that women's centers provide.

NAWC is committed to the empowerment of women, to strengthening the bonds between all women, and to the elimination of oppressions based on race, class, economic status, sexual preference, age, or physical ability.

A membership directory is in the works and NAWC will hold its second national conference in Milwaukee, in June '88.

For more information, contact Sylvia Kramer at **National Association of Women Centers,** c/o Women's Action Alliance, 370 Lexington Ave. New York NY 10017. (212) 532-8330.

WOMEN'S COMMISSIONS

State, County and Municipal Commissions for Women (sometimes called Commissions on the Status of Women) began forming in the early 1960's, and by 1970 there were enough of them and their networking had advanced to the point of forming The National Association of Commissions for Women (NACW). In 1986, NACW finally got its first fulltime paid staff person, Executive Director Ethel Williams, based in Washington DC. As of 1987, Ms. Williams reports, there are 230 commissions in the U.S. (that are members of NACW). NACW conducts an annual survey of its members, monitors federal legislation of concern to women and provides Federal Legislative Alerts to members, works with other national women's organizations on issues requiring collective action, and provides informational pamphlets on many issue areas of the Plan.

National Association of Commissions for Women, YWCA / 624 9th St. NW Suite M-10, Washington DC 20001. (202) 628-5030.

WOMEN'S YELLOW PAGES

Women Yellow Pages began to appear in the mid-70's, and in 1985 they formed the National Association of Women's Yellow Pages. In 1988, there are over 50 WYPs nationwide, covering cities or areas in 24 states and the District of Columbia. Most of these resource directories cover a metropolitan area, but in Florida, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico and Utah there are statewide directories. Though many are set up by business women, and most of the listings are for woman-owned businesses and women professionals, there are always listings for women's services, resources and centers, and activist organizations. Advertising space is marketed nationally through each participating directory.

To find out if there is a directory in your area or for further information or purchase contact:
The National Association of Women's Yellow Pages, c/o Ellen Fisher (Nat'l President), The Greater Philadelphia Women's Yellow Pages, P.O. Box 42397, Philadelphia PA 19101. (215) 235-4042.

Publications Available from The National Women's Conference Center

ERA Facts and Action Guide, by Riane Eisler, attorney-at-law, and Allie Hixson, PhD.

Decade of Achievement, 1977-1987: A Report on a Survey based on the National Plan of Action for Women , edited by Susanna Downie.

The ERA Facts and Action Guide, first published in 1986, contains 78 pages of facts about the ERA (why we need it, and why we dont have it yet), a historical overview and discussion of women's legal status in the U.S., including current laws that sanction inequality and facts about State ERAs, strategies and tactics for passage (with information on current Congressional support), and a full account of women's organizations working for the ERA, and recently formed coalitions and networks. Especially valuable for those who want a clear, accurate account of a battle that is still going on, was not accurately covered by media or school curricula during the 1972-1982 campaign, and will affect the future of all women in the U.S.

Decade of Achievement 1977-1987, just published this year(1988), reports on a national survey of women's groups working on one or more of the 25 issue areas defined by the National Plan of Action for Women. Gives a History of the Plan and the "Spirit of Houston", basic facts about the problems defined in each area of the Plan, from "Arts & Humanities" to "Women, Welfare & Poverty", and 23 areas in between, with lots of information about women's groups, national and local, working on Plan issues. Includes a report on women's Statewide Networks, many of them recently formed around the Plan. 80 pages, 8 1/2 x 11".

To order **ERA Facts and Action Guide:**

One copy: $5.00
Bulk rates: 10 copies: $35.00, 50 copies:$130.00
100 copies: $200.00.
Prices include postage and handling.
Make checks payable to:
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